the heart of Europe beats for peace

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S CONTRIBUTION
TO SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF
COOPERATION IN EUROPE

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Man's most important right is his right to live in peace, without the threat of war

INTRODUCTION

Five years have passed from the moment when the heads of state and government of thirty-five countries signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in the Finnish capital of Helsinki. The events which have taken place on the European continent in the course of those five years have been influenced in many respects by the results of that conference. The provisions of the Final Act have had a positive impact on the relaxation of international tension and laid a more solid foundation for strengthening the security of the European countries and for the growth of their all-round, mutually advantageous cooperation. Mutual understanding between states with different social systems has increased and thus relations have improved in the political as well as economic and cultural spheres.

The purpose of this publication is to show Czechoslovakia's approach to the implementation of the provisions of

the Final Act and the extent to which it has participated in these positive results achieved in Europe since the Helsinki conference.

The determination of our country to promote actively the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act was expressed already in Helsinki by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, when he declared: "The results of this first Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe create favourable prerequisites for a sound and mutually advantageous development of relations among all the participating states under the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation. Our common task will now be to implement these tasks by concrete steps and measures, by a constant expansion of the process of easing tension. By the endeavour to liquidate the existing and any potential hotbeds of military tension. By a just settlement of international conflicts, based on an unequivocal recognition of and respect for the right of every nation to independence. By the formation of a system of collective security, as well as by military détente, by limitation of the feverish arms race, which would cover all types of weapons and military equipment, in particular nuclear weapons, and which would lead to universal and complete disarmament. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, our people and our government will do all in their power to bring about the realization of these noble aims."

The people of Czechoslovakia had the opportunity of acquainting themselves fully with the results produced by the history-making Helsinki Conference. Immediately after the conference had ended, the complete text of the Final Act was published in the form of an annex by most daily papers — a total of more than one million and a half copies. In addition, it was printed as a separate publication in an edition of

75,000 copies, sold for a minimum price, and is still available today — five years after the Helsinki Conference. Thus, in Czechoslovakia, there is one copy of the Final Act per less than ten inhabitants.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Helsinki Conference, its results were discussed by this country's supreme Communist Party and government bodies — the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In a joint declaration they issued, they underlined that "the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as a firm member ov the socialist community and true to the principles guiding its peaceful foreign policy, will consistently implement the conclusions reached by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe." These conclusions were elaborated and projected into concrete measures, and are being consistently implemented.

Czechoslovakia is one of the countries pursuing an active foreign policy and thereby effectively contributing to the process of easing international tension in the spirit of the Final Act.

That is why in our foreign policy we are constantly striving to project the principles enunciated in the Final Act into our relations with all countries, irrespective of their social system. We have conducted successful, high-level negotiations with the Western countries which are signatories of the Final Act. These negotiations have resulted in the conclusion of a number of important agreements of political, economic and cultural character. By the end of 1979, we signed 48 such agreements with the Western signatories of the Final Act. Czechoslovakia has also ratified the International Covenants on Human Rights and implements their provisions. These Covenants have thus far been ratified by 55 member-countries of the United Nations. They include

all the socialist countries, but certainly not all capitalist states, among them those, which are conducting against us various unsubstantiated propaganda campaigns, accusing us—quite contrary to the facts—of violations of human rights.

A major factor promoting the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act are bilateral meetings and intensive political talks between leading officials of states with different social systems. Experience has shown that it is precisely in the course of talks at this level, where it is frequently possible to find solutions of long-outstanding differences and even conflicts, which are acceptable to both parties. Such talks represent the most effective impulse given by the Helsinki Conference to promotion of cooperation between states with different social systems. Here we may list, for example, such very important event, as the official visit of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1978, which provided an opportunity for a bilateral expression of interest in the expansion of good-neighbourly relations between the two countries. The Joint Declaration, signed on that occasion, creates the framework for a continued development of mutually advantageous relations and cooperation.

Czechoslovakia has also expanded its relations with other signatory states of the Final Act. For example, in 1979 alone, more than thirty top-level meetings and talks took place, plus scores of additional talks at a lower level.

The capital of Czechoslovakia, Prague, frequently hosts international meetings and negotiations which by their importance exceed the scope of bilateral relations and actively promote the process of consolidation of peace and security in Europe.

Currently we view military détente and disarmament to be of decisive importance. Progress in this area would result in a general improvement of the political climate in the world. We give this matter exceptional consideration and, jointly with the Soviet Union and other socialist states, have already submitted a number of proposals for further steps to be taken in this field, so as to preserve a lasting peace. We consider the most important of these documents to be the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries to convene a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. In this respect Czechoslovakia showed initiative at the 34th UN General Assembly session, where it submitted the draft of a Declaration on International Cooperation in Attaining the Objectives of Disarmament, which the General Assembly adopted. Czechoslovak delegations have been also active at the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, at the sessions of the Geneva Disarmament Committee, as well as at other international forums.

Détente promotes the growth of economic relations, and economic cooperation, on the other hand, creates the prerequisites for the easing of political tension. In recent years, Czechoslovakia has taken a number of active steps to develop cooperation with countries with different social systems in the economic sphere. Our economic contacts with the Western countries have expanded since the Helsinki Conference, trade has increased, and the forms of economic cooperation are being improved. However, there also exist some negative factors due to the economic recession in the West, to protectionism as well as to discriminatory measures, which obstruct our initiative aimed at the normalization of economic relations and at a dynamic growth of our economic cooperation with our partners in the West.

The Final Act also stipulates the trends and forms of

cooperation in the fields of culture, education, exchange of information, human contacts as well as contacts between institutions and organizations. Much has already been realized in this respect. Under the provisions of the Final Act, foundations of relations and cooperation between states with different social systems are being created in these areas. However, in order to attain this objective, it is essential to respect the principles guiding relations between the signatory states, so that cooperation in the humanitarian areas should promote the consolidation of peace and growth of mutual understanding among states and nations. The "Third Basket" should certainly not be misused as a means of interference in the internal affairs of the socialist states and of undermining their social system.

Acting in accordance with the Final Act, our country expands cultural exchanges, intensifies exchange of information, supports growth of tourism, and promotes youth, sports and other contacts. In the humanitarian sphere, the Czechoslovak Government has adopted decisions of fundamental importance, concerning reunification of families, visits of relatives, settlement of individual emigration applications, etc.

Czechoslovakia demonstrates by its actions, that it is implementing the provisions of the Final Act also in the sphere of what is being called the "Third Basket." It is prepared to expand cooperation with the Western participants of the Helsinki Conference to an ever broader extent, provided that this cooperation furthers the cause of friendship and understanding among nations, as also indicated by the provisions of the Final Act.

There is no doubt, that much useful has been accomplished on the European continent since the Helsinki Conference. However, the positive results achieved since the signing of the Final Act could have been greater and

Europe could have been closer to firm security and extensive cooperation, had not the conclusions reached by the Helsinki Conference and the Final Act itself become in the course of time the target of a sustained, hostile propaganda campaign waged by the enemies of détente and disarmament, by the right-wing extremist forces of the capitalist world and by representatives of the military-industrial complex.

The international situation grew more complex and sharpened to some extent especially at the beginning of 1980, because militaristic circles in the West and in the United States in particular launched a concentrated offensive against the process of easing international tension and against disarmament. The decision adopted by the NATO Council in December 1979, to deploy new American medium-range nuclear missiles in some West European countries will not bring Europe closer to peace by a single step and, on the contrary, increases the danger of a nuclear war. Similarly, the abuse of the events in Afghanistan, which the United States merely exploited as an excuse for a change of its political course and for vicious anti-Soviet and anti-socialist propaganda campaigns, as well as for unilateral sanctions against the Soviet Union, not only disturbs the relations between the two great powers, which bear special responsibility for the maintenance of peace and for the development of the international situation, but also has a deteriorating effect on the whole international atmosphere.

We declare that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, just as the other socialist countries, will consistently strive for continuation of the process of détente and for the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and the whole world.

Our country approaches with equal determination the preparation of the Madrid meeting which must play an important role in continued détente, strengthening of

security and development of mutually advantageous cooperation in Europe. The present situation on our continent requires from all participants in the Madrid meeting their concentrated attention in creating an atmosphere of confidence and mutual understanding, essential for the success of the meeting. They all bear great responsibility for ensuring its constructive atmosphere, so that agreement may be reached on practical steps towards a fuller implementation of the Final Act.

If positive and concrete results are achieved in Madrid, they will also positively affect the whole international climate. We therefore welcome the statements by representatives of the individual participating states that they wish to avoid a repetition of the Belgrade deadlocks.

PRINCIPLES GUIDING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was the outcome of the growing realization that given the existence of a balance of forces, states with different social systems could live next to each other without a constant threat of war and in mutually advantageous cooperation. The political background of the Final Act adopted by the Conference is the Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States.

Let us recall at least briefly, what these principles are:

I. Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty
II. Refraining from the threat or use of force
III. Inviolability of frontiers
IV. Territorial integrity of states
V. Peaceful settlement of disputes
VI. Non-intervention in internal affairs
VII. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,

including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief

VIII. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples

IX. Cooperation among states

X. Fulfilment in good faith of obligations under international law

Czechoslovakia attaches exceptional importance to these ten principles, because their observance and implementation create the foundation for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and thereby also the conditions for the security of the European continent and development of cooperation. The principles listed in the Declaration are fully consistent with Czechoslovakia's peaceful policy, and their observance is an integral part of our policy towards other states.

Czechoslovakia fully respects the sovereignty of all states. It is only natural that following its bitter experience from the past, in particular from the period of the Munich betrayal and the Nazi occupation at the time of World War II, our country expects other states to behave as correctly towards it, even when its security today is safeguarded within the framework of the community of socialist states. True to the principles governing its peaceful policy, our country is opposed to the solution of international conflicts by force or threat of force, and in this connection also fully respects the inviolability of frontiers and the territorial integrity of every state.

Our active approach to these principles resulted in the signing of the treaty between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany, which—together with similar treaties the Federal Republic of Germany signed with the Soviet Union, Poland and the German Democratic Republic—was welcomed by all the peaceloving nations of Europe as a solid foundation which facilitated the holding of

the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Now, for the first time in its history, i.e. since 1918, Czechoslovakia has fully normalized relations with all its neighbours.

We strictly observe the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, but we naturally insist that this principle should also be observed with respect to our country. Unfortunately, some Western countries have been systematically violating this principle—especially in the recent period—with a consistent endeavour to interfere in our internal affairs.

It is an inherent feature of our socialist system, that the fundamental rights of citizens are not merely enunciated on paper, but that they are also fully realized in practice. The Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic provides firm guarantees of these rights and freedoms. We advocate the principle that the fundamental human rights and freedoms should always be implemented comprehensively, which means that recognition of these rights should not be limited only to civil and political rights, but should also extend to social, economic and cultural rights. That is why Czechoslovakia ratified the International Covenants on Human Rights.

We firmly believe that under the principles of equality and self-determination, every nation possesses the right to determine freely its internal and external political status without foreign interference, and to safeguard its political, economic, social and cultural development according to its own will.

We make use of every opportunity to promote cooperation with the participating states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. Here we have achieved good results, even though our efforts to further cooperation are not

always meeting with adequate response from some Western countries.

As a socialist state, Czechoslovakia dutifully implements its obligations arising from treaties and various agreements in accordance with international law, as stipulated in the Final Act.

We view the Final Act as a long-term joint programme whose realization will take a number of years. Czechoslovakia implements the Final Act consistently and comprehensively, and attaches equal importance to all the aforesaid ten principles. We proceed from the fact that any one-sided interpretation of the individual provisions of the Final Act, or the misuse and accentuation of only some of its parts, is contrary to the very essence of that document.

The preamble to the ten principles points out that the participating states declare their determination "to respect and put into practice, each of them in its relations with all other participating States, irrespective of their political, economic or social systems... the enunciated principles."

It would thus seem, that the Helsinki Conference created all the prerequisites for a relatively peaceful and harmonious development in Europe. This is what the socialist and some other states are permanently striving for.

In recent years, however, those people in the Western countries, who had opposed the Helsinki Conference and who have never accepted its decisions, are insistently seeking ways of preventing the continuation, development and extension of the process of easing tension, which the participants of the Helsinki Conference had in mind, when in the Preamble to the Final Act they expressed their conviction of the "need to exert efforts to make détente both a continuing and an increasingly viable and comprehensive process, universal in scope..."

The efforts aimed against this objective center on a one-

sided interpretation of some parts of the document adopted in Helsinki and show the obvious intention to steer international developments onto a quite different course than stipulated by the Final Act. This was manifested quite clearly at the Belgrade meeting of the signatories of that document, which was to have been a forum for an exchange of views on the results achieved in the implementation of the Final Act, as well as on the steps to be taken in matters of security and cooperation of the European countries in order to expand the process of easing tension.

Due to the policy of some Western delegations, which ran counter to the spirit of the Final Act, the results of the Belgrade meeting were hardly satisfactory. Many participants—including the socialist states—were dissatisfied mainly by the failure of the meeting to further the process launched in Helsinki.

Different propaganda campaigns waged prior to and after the Belgrade meeting in some Western countries under the patronage of the United States singled out one principle among the ten, namely Principle VII, concerning human rights. In addition, the interpretation given to that principle was quite tendentious and distorted, contrary to the spirit of the Final Act.

In order to better understand the hypocritical approach to the human rights issue by some Western leaders, it is necessary to recall in brief the period when the UN documents on human rights were being drawn up.

When the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was being formulated in 1948, the socialist states urged the inclusion in that document not only of civil and political rights, but also of such rights, as those to work, to leisure, to education and to social security. Their intent—after the end of the holocaust of World War II—was to give the ideal of democracy a timelier content which would embody the

concepts of equality and justice also in areas where inequality had been most manifest in the past.

In their endeavour, the socialist states proceeded from the fact that man cannot be truly free, if he is not guaranteed the right to work as a source of his livelihood and independence, that man cannot enjoy equality, if he is judged not by the work he does, but mainly by the property he owns, and that man cannot attain justice, if the legal system of the society in which he lives is based on exploitation of man by man.

The socialist states were motivated in their then endeavour by yet another idea — that in a modern society there cannot exist unlimited freedom, but that freedom involves a process where society guarantees to the individual all the fundamental rights enumerated today in UN documents, while, on the other hand, the individual has certain duties towards society. This process is essential in order to prevent the anarchist and disintegrating phenomena which are so typical of today's capitalist society and which objectively act against the realization of human rights in their broadest sense precisely in that society.

In the protracted negotiations about the final formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the representatives of the capitalist countries stubbornly rejected this concept of human rights. Economic, social and cultural rights eventually were included in the Universal Declaration only thanks to the fact that the majority of UN members supported the concept advocated by the socialist states. The resolution adopted by the United Nations in that connection notes that man deprived of his economic and social rights and his rights in the field of culture is not the personality envisaged by the Universal Declaration as the ideal of free man. The opposition put up against this concept of human rights resulted in the situation where some Western states have not yet ratified the legally binding International

Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which were adopted by the United Nations in 1966 and which elaborate in greater detail the stipulations of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This is true, for example, of the United States whose current administration has so hypocritically championed human rights and has been bold enough to preach human rights to others while violating on a mass scale the provisions of the International Covenants and the rights enunciated there. This is obviously the reason why the Congress of the United States has failed to ratify the two documents.

This much for the history of the documents on human rights, which is frequently being ignored or intentionally avoided. The Final Act adopted by the Helsinki Conference ties onto these documents in full and, in fact, refers to them in its Principle VII.

Those, who study the current course of international relations, must necessarily conclude that the United States has not been observing yet another principle enunciated in the preamble of the Final Act, which states that "solidarity among peoples, as well as the common purpose of the participating States in achieving the aims as set forth by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, should lead to the development of better and closer relations among them in all fields and thus to overcoming the confrontation stemming from the character of their past relations..." However, the current administration in Washington has made confrontation one of the major instruments of its foreign policy aimed against the socialist states, and thereby runs counter to the Final Act.

The feelings of the people of Czechoslovakia about these matters were best voiced by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the

Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, in 1979, when he addressed a delegation representing the Union of Czechoslovak Women. Speaking about some Western countries, he then said: "We would very gladly join and support at any time the struggle for human rights, for the elimination of discrimination, for the equality of blacks and whites and other races, for the equality of peoples oppressed by colonialism and neocolonialism anywhere in the world, where human rights are being suppressed. But this is not what they want. Theirs is an unheard of hypocrisy. Even some of their leaders admit that their governments find it necessary to fight for human rights — but in the socialist countries. They don't want to eliminate large-scale unemployment, oppression and discrimination of all kind at home — but in the socialist countries where the basic conditions have been created for making oppression of any kind impossible."

All this shows that the loud campaign for human rights, conducted by some Western countries, is nothing but a badly masked attempt to distort the substance of real human rights, to institutionalize their interpretation typical of past centuries, and to prevent these rights from acquiring a meaning corresponding to the current stage of development of mankind which is irreversibly progressing towards a higher type of democracy, meeting the fundamental needs of all people rather than the interests of national and supranational monopolies.

We may note that Czechoslovakia is conscientiously implementing its international obligations in the field of human rights, as they ensue from all the aforesaid documents, in keeping with the present stage of development of Czechoslovakia's society.

Principle VII, concerned with human rights, is very closely related with Principle VI, which contains provisions not

permitting intervention in the internal affairs of other participating states. The latter principle gained in importance especially as a result of the pressure employed by the Western countries in their misuse of Principle VII.

Let us recall in this connection that provision of Principle VI, which stipulates that "the participating states will refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating State, regardless of their mutual relations."

Some Western officials have been trying to interpret the Final Act in such a way, which would give the participating states—that is their governments—the right to criticize the implementation or non-implementation of the Final Act by other states—according to their own interpretation—and thereby in fact interfere in the latter's internal affairs. Czechoslovakia cannot accept such a wrong interpretation of the Final Act. Here we proceed not only from the UN Charter but also from the provisions of Principle I of the Final Act, which stipulates that "the participating States will respect each other's sovereign equality and individuality, as well as all the rights inherent in and encompassed by its sovereignty, including in particular the right of every State to juridical equality, to territorial integrity and political independence. They will also respect each other's right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as its right to determine its laws and regulations."

Some Western signatories of the Final Act, when interpreting the Final Act, are trying to distort the aforesaid principles and to give them a quite different character than they actually have. Moreover, they are attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of other states and to annull the results of progressive social transformations which are

fully in keeping both with the aims of the Universal Declaration and the aims of the two International Covenants on Human Rights.

It may be useful to recall the words used in a different connection and with other intentions by John Foster Dulles as the US representative at the United Nations conference which adopted the Charter of the world organization in 1945. Later, as Secretary of State, Dulles became the chief architect of the Cold War policy against the socialist states. At that time he asked whether the United Nations should intervene in the internal life of member-states directly or through the national governments. Perhaps the time will come, he answered, when fifty or more member-countries will be prepared to entrust to the ten persons constituting the majority of the Economic and Social Council the right to intervene in their internal economy for the purpose of some special economic or social model. That day has not yet come, said Dulles and expressed the hope that it would never come because he believed that social development would be shaped by the people of each country and that it should not be asserted from the outside by those, who are necessarily not familiar with the different conditions which by their very difference enrich the sum total of human life. The objective of the United States, declared Dulles, was to make the world organization not interfere in matters which constitute the main scope of the internal jurisdiction of the member-countries. This opinion regarding interference in the internal affairs of other countries, is acceptable to this day, even though it is obvious that Dulles acted as the mouthpiece of American monopolies which continue to oppose the implementation especially of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. However, the ruling circles of the United States today object to the endeavour of the people of each country to run their own affairs.

The policy pursued by the current US administration follows a quite different concept, namely that of gross interference in the internal affairs of other countries, as clearly demonstrated by its acts.

Some Western countries, trying to divert attention from their own, steadily growing internal problems, such as growing unemployment, inflation and the related loss of values, a rising crime rate and drug addiction, as well as from their failure to implement not only economic and social but also some major political rights, have been waging a campaign of slander of the socialist states, demagogically distorting the truth about life in these states and trying to discredit them in the public eye.

Western officials frequently and intentionally ignore the many important advantages of the socialist system and do not or refuse to see that socialism has produced a new quality of democracy, of political life, of government, of political freedoms, an incomparably higher level of public life, of social security and of man's self-realization as a citizen. They disparage the opportunities of all-round educational and cultural development offered to the citizens of our country. They keep mum about the fact that socialist society has given the working people rights of which the citizens of many Western countries can only dream.

THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY IN EUROPE

Due to the disconcerting changes which have occurred in international relations in the recent period, governments, political leaders and the general public have been increasingly turning their attention to such serious problems, as those of military détente and disarmament.

Modern history has taught us that world peace is indivisible and that the European continent, which has sparked the flames of two destructive world wars in this century alone, plays a decisive role in matters of war and peace.

The course of the political and military situation in Europe as the key factor influencing world developments is even more important today, at the beginning of the 1980s, marked by grave complications in the entire spectrum of international relations.

The position held by Czechoslovakia and the other socialist states on the questions of military détente and disarmament is unequivocal and highly principled. Their

foreign policy is permanently and organically tied with the endeavour to consolidate and deepen peaceful co-existence of all states, irrespective of their social systems, and with the struggle for the elimination of all the causes of war.

This policy is inspired by and firmly based on the Programme of the Struggle for Peace, for International Cooperation, for the Freedom and Independence of Nations, adopted by the 24th and further elaborated by the 25th Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party, the government and all the people of Czechoslovakia have embraced this Programme and have adopted it as one of the mainstays of this country's foreign policy.

The preservation and consolidation of peace, limitation of the arms race, and the attainment of universal and complete disarmament are described in this historical programme raised by the socialist states as the most important task faced by mankind in the present era.

However, the road leading to the attainment of these noble objectives and justified aspirations of the nations of the world is a difficult and tortuous one because it is being constantly obstructed by the enemies of peace. Nevertheless, the experience gained thus far shows that the purposeful policy followed by the socialist states and the common endeavour of the world's peaceloving forces has a realistic chance of achieving positive results and encouraging success in the struggle for peace and in asserting the objectives of disarmament.

Let us recall, for example, the certain progress scored in recent years in the talks on slowing down or ending the arms race. Nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in cosmic space and under water were banned, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is in effect, so is the agreement whereby states have

renounced the deployment of weapons of mass destruction in orbit around the Earth, on celestial bodies and on the sea and ocean bed, biological and toxic weapons have been banned and their stockpiles destroyed, military and any other hostile use of means affecting human environment is prohibited.

It has taken many years of a frequently very hard effort to assert the first moves towards limiting strategic offensive weapons, but progress has been made even in this most difficult aspect of the disarmament effort.

The first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, concluded by the Soviet Union and the United States in 1972, was welcomed by all the world's peaceloving forces. Unfortunately, SALT 2 has not yet entered into effect. Therefore we continue demanding that the US Senate should ratify it as early as possible.

One of the factors decisively influencing world developments is the fact that due to the strengthening and growth of socialism in the decades following the end of World War II, as well as to the success scored by the anti-imperialist national-liberation struggle, a major shift took place in the world balance of power and thereby important positive changes occurred in international relations towards consolidation of peace and security. In Europe, progress was achieved in strengthening stability and promoting peaceful relations between states, the process of easing international tension was successfully developed, whose success and influence were best demonstrated in the positive results of the Helsinki Conference which was convened on the initiative of the socialist states. The most prominent achievement of the postwar years is the very fact that peace has been maintained in Europe already for the fourth decade.

This fact offers a promising prospect to peaceloving

people the world over, that wars may be eliminated from the life of society once and for all.

However, not a single success has been achieved on this road without the socialist countries having to overcome the stubborn, overt and covert opposition of the imperialist circles and the military-industrial complex which in many respects determines the policy of the capitalist states. Every advance had to be fought for against the forces of international reaction and the enemies of détente, against the strategy of a feverish arms race, of gross interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, and against attempts to upset the strategic balance between the East and the West.

As for Europe proper, we may note with satisfaction that in the course of the 1970s the postwar peaceful settlement among the European countries had been sealed by a number of treaties which have formed a solid foundation for peaceful relations and mutual confidence, eliminated serious points of tension, and thereby reduced the danger of a new military conflict.

It became obvious already in the course of preparations for the Helsinki Conference—and the five years which have elapsed since the history-making signing of the Final Act have fully confirmed it—that Europe can become the cradle of a qualitatively new type of international relations, if the participating states succeed in ensuring the attainment of corresponding progress also in the sphere of military détente.

The delegations of the participating states consulted each other in the course of the Helsinki Conference on matters of military character and jointly arrived a number of concrete measures which are of exceptional significance for the consolidation of the peaceful development in Europe.

For example, the Final Act covers some concrete military steps aimed at the strengthening of confidence. Thus, for the

first time in the history of relations between states with different social systems, agreement was reached on prior notification of major military maneuvres, on exchange of observers at such maneuvres, and on some additional measures of this nature, designed to reduce the degree of distrust between the participating states. While these measures—as also envisaged—cannot influence concrete military activities, the military strength of individual states or the process of disarmament itself, they undoubtedly do have a political and psychological impact on relations between states and help to a considerable degree create an atmosphere of confidence and stability, and thereby may positively influence the creation of the most suitable conditions for reaching concrete agreements on limiting and ending the arms race and on disarmament.

The participating states agreed at the Helsinki Conference that they would voluntarily notify each other of military maneuvres exceeding the total of 25,000 troops not later than 21 days in advance. They also agreed on an exchange of observers and such other moves, as invitation of military delegations, notification of major military movements, etc. Under these provisions, Czechoslovakia notified the participating states of military maneuvres involving 26,000 troops, which were held on its territory in January 1979 under the code name "Druzhba 1979." Czechoslovakia has not held any more maneuvres of that size since the Helsinki Conference, which may be viewed as a contribution to the process of reducing the intensity of military activity in Europe. Czechoslovak observers were sent to military maneuvres held by Polish, Finnish, Yugoslav, French and Austrian armed forces, as well as to two maneuvres held by the Soviet Army.

The Final Act speaks quite unequivocally in its part entitled "Document on confidence-building measures and

certain aspects of security and disarmament" of the "complementary nature of the political and military aspects of security." The participating states solemnly declared that they "recognize the interest of all of them in efforts aimed at lessening military confrontation and promoting disarmament which are designed to complement political détente in Europe and to strengthen their security. They are convinced of the necessity to take effective measures. . . towards the ultimate achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and which should result in strengthening peace and security throughout the world."

Czechoslovakia has not let up in its peaceful efforts after the Helsinki Conference, and in keeping with the course of its principled foreign policy and in close coordination with other socialist states has been stepping up its endeavour in the struggle for the continuation of the process of easing tension both in Europe and the world at large.

Jointly with the other socialist states, Czechoslovakia has been striving to reduce the importance of military means in international relations, while observing the principle of equal security of all the parties involved, and to raise to the top of the hierarchy of instruments of international security political, diplomatic, legal and moral instruments, whose character is in keeping with the principle of peaceful co-existence.

Czechoslovakia and the other socialist states proceed from the fact that at the present time there exists a basic balance of forces between the East and the West, and that this balance offers a historical opportunity to end the arms race, to put into effect disarmament measures while preserving the principle of equal security, and at the same time to strengthen the politico-diplomatic and politico-legal guarantees on a collective basis.

What is essentially involved, is to make political and military détente form both in individual regions and on a global scale a reliably functioning system of international security, in which the universally democratic principles of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems are in force. A comprehensive process of détente can successfully progress only if the participating states show a sincere readiness to stop accumulating the material means of waging war and to reduce their stockpiles equally and at the same pace.

Czechoslovakia has been actively involved in international disarmament negotiations, primarily within the framework of the United Nations. At the 34th Session of the UN General Assembly in 1979, it submitted the draft of a Declaration on International Cooperation for Achieving the Objectives of Disarmament. This document contains a systematically classified set of principles and rules of behaviour of states in negotiations on disarmament and on international cooperation in this area in general. The draft proceeded from an idea expressed on May 1, 1979, by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, when he said: "We believe that it would be useful to adopt on the broadest possible international basis, best of all in the United Nations, a document which would bind states to unify in the endeavour to solve the urgent problems of disarmament and which would stipulate concrete political principles governing mutual cooperation for achieving this objective."

This Czechoslovak initiative met with a positive response in the United Nations, and the draft holds an important place in the uninterrupted chain of peace initiatives of the socialist countries. The Declaration adopted on the basis of this Czechoslovak draft is important primarily in that it

facilitates the conduct of any disarmament negotiations—bilateral and multilateral—and helps expedite them and achieve concrete agreements. The adoption of this Czechoslovak proposal was a pronounced success of Czechoslovakia's peace policy and is also a symbol of the common policy of all peaceloving and realistically-minded forces in the struggle for disarmament.

Currently, Czechoslovakia concentrates on supporting and asserting a whole range of important proposals submitted by the socialist countries at different forums and on different occasions, which were comprehensively summed up and formulated most recently in the final documents adopted by the Political Consultative Committee of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty held in May 1980.

Each of the 17 sessions of the Political Consultative Committee held thus far has made its contribution to the solution of topical international problems and primarily to the consolidation of peace in Europe through important proposals. We fully identify ourselves with the words of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid I. Brezhnev, spoken in a pre-election statement in February 1980: "All the major decisions adopted in the process of consolidating peace and limiting the arms race in the course of the past decade, just as the most important negotiations on these matters, are the outcome of initiative by the socialist countries. Their concrete proposals on disarmament and international cooperation constitute an extensive, wise and realistic programme of safeguarding peace in our era. We shall persistently and tirelessly struggle for their realization."

The first post-Helsinki session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty was held in Bucharest

in November 1976. It analyzed the international situation and the danger to which détente was exposed, and adopted a document including proposals to stop the nuclear arms race, limit and liquidate nuclear weapons and not permit their tests, sign an international convention on the prohibition and liquidation of chemical weapons as well as on a ban to develop new types and new systems of weapons of mass destruction, to conclude an agreement on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons, to liquidate military bases on foreign territory and withdraw troops from other states, to create zones of peace in different areas and reduce military budgets, to conclude a world-wide treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, to suspend Article 9 of the Warsaw Treaty and Article 10 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which permit the accession of additional states to the two treaties.

The Bucharest session also proposed that the signatories of the Final Act should conclude a treaty in which they would undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other on the ground, on the sea, in the air and in cosmic space. This obligation should also extend to the armed forces of these states deployed in any part of the world; the following year the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty extended the proposal to cover also conventional weapons. Such a treaty would in fact constitute a European non-aggression pact and a legal basis for a grand system of collective security, as well as a means of turning Europe into a continent without wars.

Unfortunately, to this day the socialist states have not received a reply from their Western partners to a single proposal or suggestion.

The socialist countries pursued their peace offensive also at the Belgrade meeting of the signatories of the Final Act, where the Soviet-proposed "Platform of Actions for

Military Détente in Europe" contained a realistic programme of effective means of preventing war in Europe. Added to the earlier proposals were proposals to limit the scope of military maneuvres to 50—60,000 soldiers, to extend the confidence-building measures in the military sphere to the Mediterranean area, and to create a mechanism of consultations for solving the problems of military détente and disarmament in Europe. Moreover, the Soviet delegation at the Belgrade meeting once again submitted the appeal to conclude an agreement banning neutron weapons.

However, instead of a constructive dialogue on these proposals, the United States and, under its pressure, the other NATO countries chose a policy of fruitless confrontation. Their obstructionism prevented the Belgrade meeting from producing a document which would correspond to the significance of the session and which would include concrete measures in the fields of military détente and disarmament. Thereby, the NATO powers prevented any progress to be scored in the realization of the idea also expressed in the Final Act, which underlined that in connection with the consolidation of security in Europe, the participating states would proceed especially from the "complementary nature of the political and military aspects of security."

This negative approach to the proposals raised by the socialist states and unwillingness to enter into constructive negotiations in Belgrade were not accidental and had deeper causes which were fully uncovered in the subsequent developments. For the Western powers had decided to make a drastic turn in their foreign policy and to follow a line hostile to the process of easing international tension, a line of stepping up the arms race. This became manifest already at the NATO Council session held in Washington in May 1978, which approved an automatic annual growth of the

military budgets of the NATO countries until the end of the 20th century, just as in the delays and eventual shelving of the ratification of SALT 2 by the United States, and, in particular, the decision taken by the NATO Council in December 1979, to build an deploy 108 launching facilities for a new generation of American medium-range missiles, as well as 464 nuclear-armed Cruise missiles, in Western Europe.

The socialist states countered this long-range NATO programme of a dangerous arms build-up with a peace strategy of concrete proposals for radical disarmament, including proposals concerning confidence-building measures in the military sphere.

Of exceptional importance in this respect have been the 1978 session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Moscow and the constructive proposals aimed at reducing the danger of military confrontation, which were presented by L. I. Brezhnev at the celebrations marking the 30th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic and which were supplemented and specified in greater detail by the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' Committee at its session in Berlin in December 1979.

The socialist states have declared their belief that the most pressing task of international politics under the currently prevailing conditions is the adoption of measures which would most expeditiously ensure the achievement of a decisive turn in the negotiations on ending the arms race and on disarmament, proposed the opening of immediate talks on limiting the number of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, and urged NATO and its members not to take any action which would complicate the situation and could obstruct the negotiations. They pointed out in particular, that they would consider any approval to build and deploy new American missiles in Western Europe as a NATO

attempt to negotiate from a position of strength, which is quite unacceptable to them.

However, the Western powers once again did not positively respond to this initiative because, as it has become obvious, the leaders of the North Atlantic Pact had decided within the framework of their already devised long-range strategy first to assert the adoption of plans to "modernize" these weapons and only then enter into negotiations with the Soviet Union — no longer, of course, on the basis of a strategic balance and equal security, but from a position of strength built up on the military superiority of NATO. It has become well known by now, that the decision to produce and deploy new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe had been in preparation for a long time as a substantive part of the programme of gradual increase of military budgets until the end of this century, and that the preparation of this programme had been in the making at least three years.

We view this highly dangerous decision, which has provoked a strong wave of resistance not only in Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries, but also among realistically-minded people in Western Europe, as irrefutable evidence of attempts by militaristic circles in the West to upset the existing approximate balance of military forces and to deal with the socialist states from a position of strength.

The decision on the production of new American weapons and their deployment in Western Europe is an extremely hazardous and dangerous act mainly because it alters the overall strategic situation in Europe.

It is not only contrary to the spirit and letter of the Final Act and undermines the process launched by the Helsinki Conference, but it also detracts from the results achieved by the conclusion of SALT 1 and 2, and threatens the future

negotiations on SALT 3. In addition, it greatly weakens what has been done thus far for reducing the danger of military confrontation and steps up the danger of a nuclear war in Europe.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko declared on December 21, 1979: "If somebody wants to negotiate with the Soviet Union from a position of strength, he better abandon his expectations. We shall never accept this, nor permit anybody to speak this kind of language with us. We cannot permit the NATO bloc to achieve military superiority."

This is also Czechoslovakia's view. The people of this country have serious reasons for concern, indignation and resolute condemnation of this move. They have not forgotten the lesson of World War II and its origin, they know the price of peace. No nuclear weapons are deployed on Czechoslovak territory, but in the closest proximity of our frontiers, on the territory of the German Federal Republic, additional, improved nuclear weapons are to be deployed and targeted against our country and its allies.

Our critical, resolute and principled position on this matter was also expressed at the highest political level by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, in his New Year's address on January 1, 1980. He condemned the dangerous decision whereby the United States and other NATO members assumed a grave responsibility for the consequences which the deployment of new American nuclear weapons in Western Europe may have for the future development. A profound analysis of the existing situation, made by the leaders of the member-countries of the Warsaw Treaty alliance at the May 1980 session of the alliance's Political Consultative Committee, once again underlined the key role played by Europe in solving the problems of military détente, which is currently

being viewed as the central problem of international relations. The analysis was based on the experience gained by the socialist states in the recent period in the struggle against attempts made by the United States and the other NATO powers to upset the balance of power in favour of the West and to return to Cold War methods.

As a firm part of the socialist community of states and as a country lying in the very heart of Europe on the dividing line between two different social systems, Czechoslovakia believes its task to be to contribute as much as possible to preventing a military conflict on this continent, and resolutely strives for the practical implementation of the decisions made at this most important session of members of the Warsaw Treaty alliance.

The socialist countries have serious and warranted reasons for having reminded at their Warsaw session the NATO member-countries and other Western states of their earlier proposals concerning military détente and disarmament, and for having urged them once again to enter into a constructive dialogue on these matters.

The socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, are also seriously concerned about the continuing delays in the ratification of SALT 2 in the United States. The entry of SALT 2 into effect would undoubtedly open the way for further important steps in the sphere of disarmament and would have a beneficial influence on the whole international situation. Therefore, they continue to demand the ratification at the earliest possible time.

As regards military détente and disarmament on the European continent, the socialist countries believe that the primary problems to be solved are the consolidation and expansion of confidence-building measures in the military sphere, renunciation of force or threat of force, limitation of armed forces and armaments, which should be used for

defensive purposes alone, and abandonment of attempts to achieve military supremacy.

The socialist states are convinced that if all the participating states follow the interests of consolidation of peace and security, and if they show the necessary political will to achieve this end, then—given the approximate balance of forces, whose existence had been recognized until recently also by the NATO powers—the danger of a stepped-up nuclear arms race will be averted in Europe and a real possibility will be created of maintaining a balance of forces also on the lower level.

We are justifiably concerned about the stagnation of the Vienna talks on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe as a major factor affecting the development of the situation on this continent. The seven years of these talks have produced practically no concrete result due to the intransingency of their Western participants who in their November 1979 proposals abandoned not only the idea of freezing the number of troops between the first and the second stages of their limitation, but also the idea of reducing armaments, and put forward the hardly acceptable proposal of a set of so-called associated measures which would apply to a broader territory than jointly agreed upon in 1973.

Czechoslovakia is actively involved in the Vienna talks as a direct participant and is determined to continue working for such solutions, which would not be detrimental to the security of either side and would reduce the hazard of military confrontation in Central Europe.

Of exceptional importance in this respect would be the conclusion—on the basis of an earlier proposal of the Warsaw Treaty states—of an agreement under which no state or grouping of states would raise their armed forces in Europe from a specific, agreed date.

The socialist states, including Czechoslovakia, are striving to make also the forthcoming Madrid meeting of the signatories of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe contribute to the solution of the military aspects of European security. They expect the participants of that meeting not only to agree on a practical consolidation of the political aspects of security and on the development of all-round cooperation on this continent, but also to open the door to military détente, limitation of the arms race and disarmament.

Specifically, the Madrid meeting ought to, in the first place, produce an agreement on the objectives, the agenda, the venue and the date of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, including an agreement on the rules of procedure for its first stage. The member-states of the Warsaw Treaty alliance raised the idea of such a conference already in May 1979, and elaborated this proposal more concretely in additional documents, suggesting that the negotiations held in the first stage should concentrate on proposals of confidence-building measures in the military sphere, while in the next stage or stages concrete steps could be discussed for reducing the danger of military confrontation and for disarmament.

The members of the Warsaw Treaty alliance have urged all the other participating states to take a positive approach to the idea of such a conference, so that the Madrid meeting could agree on its holding.

Moved by the interest of strengthening peace in Europe, the socialist states underlined at the last session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, held in the Polish capital, that it was essential to open at the earliest time possible negotiations on medium-range nuclear missiles and to stop the expansion of their stockpiles on the European continent. The heads of the Warsaw Treaty

member-states declared that negotiations on these questions were possible on the basis of the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union.

As indicated by the Warsaw Declaration, when dealing with matters related with the military aspects of security in Europe, the socialist states are striving to parallel the concrete measures necessary for military détente and disarmament, including confidence-building measures, by the necessary political steps and treaties aimed at reducing the danger of the outbreak of another war and at strengthening the guarantees of the security of all states. This is the objective of their earlier proposals, such as the proposal for the conclusion of a treaty by all the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act, which would include the pledge not to be the first to use nuclear or conventional weapons against each other, the proposal to conclude agreements aimed at securing the observance of the principle of non-use of force or threat of force in Europe, or the proposal to adopt special measures for strengthening the guarantees of security of the "non-nuclear" European states.

Such measures, the socialist states believe, should include an undertaking by the nuclear powers, that they will never use nuclear weapons against those European states, which do not have such weapons at their disposal or do not have them on their territory.

In their Warsaw Declaration, the socialist states solemnly pledged to all the states in the world, that in harmony with the substance of the socialist system, they have and will have no other than a defensive strategic doctrine and that they do not and will never strive for military supremacy.

They re-asserted their earlier assurances that a policy of blocs was inherently alien to their defensive alliance, the Warsaw Treaty, and that they were prepared to disband this alliance, if the same is done with NATO. The first step towards this goal could be a bilateral scaling-down of the military activities of the two groupings and the abolishment of their military organizations.

The Warsaw Treaty countries resolutely condemned the policy of raising military budgets and of expanding long-range armament programmes, which are one of the sources of growth of new obstacles on the way towards military détente and strengthening of security in Europe.

At the last session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty alliance they at the same time solemnly re-affirmed that there is no type of weapon, which they are not ready to limit or reduce on the basis of reciprocity.

As far as the socialist countries are concerned, the door is open on their part to a dialogue between East and West on such important and complex issues, as the problems of military détente and disarmament in Europe and in the world at large.

This is a highly important results of the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee, held in May 1980, which confirmed the principled, peaceful policy of the socialist states and their defensive alliance, the Warsaw Treaty. This alliance is not directed against the interests of any state and has always served the cause of peace. This is where its importance and great political strength lie.

As indicated by a statement issued on behalf of all the people of Czechoslovakia by the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on May 16, 1980, Czechoslovakia is firmly resolved to take an active part in such a dialogue jointly with its allies and to contribute to it significantly for the benefit of peace and in the interest of consolidating the security of states and developing international cooperation.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION AS A COMPONENT OF REALIZATION OF THE POLICY OF DETENTE

The fact that questions of cooperation in the fields of trade, industry, science, technology, human environment and transport became an important component of the Final Act is not a matter of chance. They constitute the material base for the political superstructure of cooperation between states with different social systems. We, in Czechoslovakia, have always sincerely believed that the broader and more solid this base will be, the better will be the conditions for consolidating and expanding the structure known in the political dictionary as détente.

We fully agree with the Final Act which states that "efforts to develop cooperation in the fields of trade, industry, science and technology, the environment and other areas of economic activity contribute to the reinforcement of peace and security in Europe and in the worlds as a whole."

The Final Act also indicates that the states which participated in the Helsinki Conference on Security and

Cooperation in Europe well realized that cooperation in the aforesaid fields could greatly promote "economic and social progress and the improvement of the conditions of life." At the same time, they could not ignore the fact that there exist differences in the economic and social systems of the participating states. Nevertheless—and this is very important—they reaffirmed "their will to intensify such cooperation between one another, irrespective of their systems."

The Helsinki Conference opened also in these fields new opportunities and provided new incentives for promoting cooperation between countries with different social systems. This fact is of particular significance for the European continent which produces roughly one half of the world's total national income and 53 per cent of the world's industrial output, accounts for more than a half of the world's trade, and has approximately one half of all scientific workers in the world. These facts accentuate the importance of the statement contained in the Final Act, that "the volume and structure of trade among the participating States do not in all cases correspond to the possibilities created by the current level of their economic, scientific and technological development."

The Final Act therefore devotes considerable attention to matters of equality, non-discrimination and creation of conditions promoting cooperation in different spheres of economic activity. The purpose is to encourage in both the political and economic spheres the removal of obstacles which have accumulated in this area in the course of the Cold War and many of which have not been eliminated to this day. Embargoes, import and export restrictions, credit bans and limits, blocking of property of the socialist countries, transportation bans and restrictions — all these we consider incompatible with the Final Act and with the objective need

of cooperation between countries with different social and economic systems. We are convinced in keeping with the wording of the Final Act, that "the growing world-wide economic interdependence calls for increasing common and effective efforts towards the solution of major world economic problems" and that it is essential to promote "stable and equitable international economic relations, thus contributing to the continuous and diversified economic development of all countries."

The territory of Czechoslovakia, which lies in the centre of Europe, had been a crossroads of trading routes already at a time when the history of this continent was only beginning to be written. Therefore, trade and handicraft skills have a deeply rooted tradition here. Thus, when détente—and the Final Act—call for the promotion of the "growing role of international trade as one of the most important factors in economic growth and social progress," this a natural demand for Czechoslovakia, ensuing from its ancient tradition. It proceeds from the fact that roughly one third of Czechoslovakia's national income is realized through foreign trade. It is also grounded in the substance of Czechoslovakia's policy which views as its principal objective the safeguarding of peace and security in Europe and the world as a whole. Therefore, too, Czechoslovakia's President, Gustáv Husák, could sign with utmost sincerity in Helsinki in 1975 the document which views "efforts to develop cooperation in the fields of trade, industry, science and technology, the environment and other areas of economic activity" as means contributing to "the reinforcement of peace and security in Europe and in the world as a whole."

TRADE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION

If we view trade as a channel for exchanging material and spiritual values as results of human work, then trade between Czechoslovakia and the advanced capitalist countries has had the following trend:

In thousands of crowns	1965	1970	1975	1977	1979
Total volume	6.9	12.1	21.7	25.6	32.2
Exports	3.3	5.5	9.2	10.7	14.0
Imports	3.6	6.5	12.5	14.9	18.2

These figures clearly show that Czechoslovakia's trade with the advanced capitalist countries has a dynamic course. Between 1965 and 1979 it has grown 4.6 times and compared with 1975 it went up almost one and a half times. At the same time imports from the advanced capitalist states grew at a more rapid pace than exports from Czechoslovakia to those states. This tendency has several aspects. One of

them is access to the markets in those countries, involving export and import regimes as well as opportunities to obtain information about such markets and establishing contacts with potential partners.

Czechoslovakia has done much to help its commercial partners learn about the market in this country and to make it accessible to them. In order to help them obtain knowledge about the development trends of the Czechoslovak economy, we acquaint them with the directives for Czechoslovakia's economic development over five-year periods, as they are approved by the supreme authorities in this country. They are being similarly informed about the annual implementing plans. These documents are public and appear in the daily press as well as in the Official Gazette of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The latter also publishes the basic laws and directives governing not only foreign trade relations but also external economic relations in general. In addition, such central Czechoslovak authorities, as the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Federal Bureau of Statistics, the State Planning Commission, the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry, as well as individual foreign trade corporations, provide a great wealth of information about trading opportunities.

The Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry publishes every year economic and commercial information in several languages, the yearbook Facts on Czechoslovak Foreign Trade, as well as a survey of laws and other regulations. Last year, for example, it published, e.g., Basic Information on Czechoslovak Legal Regulations in the Field of Foreign Trade, which booklet is appreciated especially by new trading partners as a very useful manual for quick reference about the legal provisions governing Czechoslovak foreign trade. Similarly published were surveys of

newly enacted Czechoslovak laws governing bills of exchange and customs.

The Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry acts as an intermediary for hundreds of commercial transactions every year in the form of offers and demands, it deals with hundreds of businessmen and delegations of different firms and corporations, and provides them with information they need about the Czechoslovak economy and foreign trade.

An important means of providing information about the Czechoslovak economy and possible commercial transactions are the trade fairs and exhibitions held in Brno, such as the International Engineering Fair, held in the autumn, or the early spring SALIMA food fair, or the INCHEBA chemical fair, held in the Slovak capital Bratislava, just as Days of Czechoslovak Economy, Days of Conferences and the activity of information offices at international trade events held abroad.

Information on the Czechoslovak national economy and trade can also be obtained through the information and publication system of the United Nations, the ECE, the FAO and UNESCO, which the Federal Bureau of Statistics supplies every year with tens of thousands of information items that appear in more than fifty publications.

Moreover, the Press and Information Centre of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs organizes every year hundreds of meetings between foreign journalists and top Czechoslovak economic and foreign trade officials.

Concrete commercial deals are negotiated by our trading partners either directly with representatives of Czechoslovak foreign trade corporations—usually with the manufacturers present—or through eleven Czechoslovak agency firms which act as agents for more than a thousand Western firms. Their services are used by small, medium-sized as well

as large firms, but in view of the size of the Czechoslovak market, the small and middle-sized firms predominate.

Foreign firms have been establishing their representations in Czechoslovakia since 1976, and thus far some sixty firms have been licensed to operate their representative offices in this country. A project of an International Trade Centre in Prague has been drawn up, which would include besides the usual commercial services also an 800 bed hotel, office space for some 100 firms, 200 flats for resident foreign representatives, exhibition rooms and other facilities.

This endeavour to facilitate the access of Western commercial partners to the Czechoslovak market is not accidental. It manifests the concrete realization of the policy formulated by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, as follows: "We also consider an important part of our external economic relations to be expansion of commercial, financial, economic, manufacturing and scientific and technological contacts with the advanced capitalist states and the developing countries, based on principles of mutual advantage. We are interested in promoting different forms of such relations on a long-range basis."

However, we must note that this policy does not always meet with a corresponding response in the West. For how else, for example, could the United States deny Czechoslovakia most-favoured nation treatment although it has already twice initialled a document opening the door to such treatment. The United States, too, is preventing the return to Czechoslovakia of 18.5 tons of gold bullion, a part of the Czechoslovak gold reserve stolen by the Nazis during the war, which a tripartite commission, made up of American, British and French representatives, had decided should be returned to this country.

The United States has reneged on earlier negotiated terms and is tying the return of this gold to the settlement of other, unrelated property matters in a discriminatory manner. Conditions are being dictated to Czechoslovakia, which are far worse than conditions negotiated between the two countries earlier and conditions agreed upon on analogous problems between the United States and such countries, as Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and China. Czechoslovakia's readiness to settle such matters on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and mutual advantage is demonstrated by the fact that it has settled the same problems by agreement with France, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark and Austria.

Czechoslovak export to Western countries is encountering not only sharp competition, which in itself is nothing strange—especially at a time of economic recession—but also artificially created barriers in the form of unilateral import quotas and multilateral restrictions — all residues of the Cold War. Unfortunately, new restrictions have been instituted in a number of cases in recent years, although the Final Act expressly calls for the exact opposite. In other cases there has been a certain increase of quotas, but at a pace which does not by far correspond to the pace of the inflationary growth of prices, so that, in fact, the import quotas are being materially reduced. Drastic import restrictions are in effect primarily on textile products, metallurgical products and footwear. Exchange of goods is also being considerably hampered by administrative obstructions in import proceedings. The EEC is constantly raising the number of technological standards which, however, are being applied in a discriminatory manner. In view of these facts, every step or even shuffle towards liberalization must therefore be appreciated.

These restrictions are one of the causes which obstruct the

access of Czechoslovak goods to capitalist markets and in a way put a limitation on the dynamics of Czechoslovak export to these markets, which does not correspond to the real possibilities. This is also manifested in a certain lag of the rate of exports behind the rate of imports and thereby is becoming a factor limiting imports from the capitalist states to Czechoslovakia for commercial and financial reasons due to a trade and payments imbalance.

It is precisely this situation, which—in our opinion—is ripe for solution within the intentions of the Final Act, in which the participating states expressed their determination "to promote, on the basis of the modalities of their economic cooperation, the expansion of their mutual trade in goods and services, and to ensure conditions favourable to such development."

This end is also to be served by the endeavour "to reduce or progressively eliminate all kinds of obstacles to the development of trade." In this respect we are concerned about the trend manifest in recent years and aimed at strengthening protectionism, as it is demonstrated in the commercial policy of the capitalist states especially towards the socialist countries. Now, this trend is receiving mainly in the United States dangerous impulses of a political character, when matters of development of trade and economic cooperation are being tied to non-economic questions. While in the past these impulses involved attempts to tie matters of trade and economic cooperation for example to questions of emigration, which can be defined only as interference in the internal affairs of another state, now they involve attitudes towards such matters, as the so-called Afghan events, and are manifested especially in the United States in a purposeful restriction of economic cooperation and limitation of contacts with the socialist states.

This is a manifestation of a dangerous political course which may seriously undermine and paralyze European cooperation. We appreciate that this dangerous American game has found opponents among Western politicians and businessmen, who believe in the necessity of continuing the policy of détente, an integral part of which is cooperation in such fields as trade, industry, science and technology, or environment. This cooperation with the socialist countries is deeply motivated by the very fact of its mutual advantage. It brings the Western partners not only considerable profit, but at the same time also helps them better utilize their production capacities and create new job opportunities, both factors of no minor importance in periods of economic recession, which do not affect the socialist states.

Czechoslovakia is trying to establish favourable conditions and appropriate treaty prerequisites for the development of this cooperation. Czechoslovakia is linked with the advanced capitalist states through a dense network of bilateral agreements on trade and economic cooperation. Ten such agreements were concluded after the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki — with Portugal, Malta, Iceland, Spain, Belgium and Luxembourg, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, and Cyprus.

The situation is such, that there is practically only a single capitalist country with which Czechoslovakia has been unable to settle its relations in this particular field by treaty or agreement of a formal nature. That country is the United States, which ties the conclusion of such an agreement to the conclusion of a treaty on the settlement of property claims; it has already twice initialled a negotiated draft of such a treaty, but in the end did not ratify it for reasons linked with political conditions which call for de facto changes in Czechoslovakia's domestic and foreign policies. Obviously, Czechoslovakia, as a state which bases its policy on the

principles of sovereign equality, non-interference in internal affairs and non-discrimination, which are all embodied also in the Final Act, cannot accept such conditions.

Czechoslovakia also bases its cooperation with the capitalist states on treaty provisions as a member of international organizations, including the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, of which it is a founding member. It is precisely that agreement, which stipulates the principle of non-discrimination in trade and the application of most-favoured-nation treatment. Unfortunately, we have seen the provisions of GATT being applied to Czechoslovakia in incomplete form or not at all, as in the case of the United States.

Speaking of treaty and legal foundations for the development of trade, we must view as a shortcoming the fact that after 1974, there has been no renewal of the bilateral trade agreements between Czechoslovakia and the member countries of the European Economic Community as a result of the decision adopted by the EEC to apply a joint commercial policy to the member-countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Therefore, Czechoslovakia has supported the initiative of the CMEA countries to establish contacts with the EEC and to open negotiations between the two organizations.

These negotiations have been going on for more than six years and Czechoslovakia believes that their successful conclusion would greatly promote trade and economic cooperation in Europe, since it would establish cooperation between the world's two largest economic integration groupings. Given their economic, scientific and technological potential, their cooperation could obviously have a very broad base and many different forms. It is therefore rather surprising, when the EEC technocrats insist that cooperation between the CMEA and the EEC should be

limited only to exchange of views and information in the fields of prognostics, statistics, standardization and human environment. We cannot but view this approach as an attempt to give the contacts between the CMEA and the EEC a more or less formal character. This, we feel, is not the true purpose of cooperation, but we do not reject the aforesaid contacts. We believe, however, that questions of trade and economic cooperation should not be ignored, but should become the main purpose of mutual relations.

COOPERATION IN INDUSTRY, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Czechoslovakia's cooperation with capitalist states is by far not limited to the classical form of trade only, but also extends to industry, science and technology. In this cooperation we proceed from the provision of the Final Act that "...industrial cooperation, being motivated by economic considerations, can create lasting ties, thus strengthening long-term overall economic cooperation, contribute to economic growth as well as to the expansion and diversification of international trade and to a wider utilization of economic complementarities through better use of all factors of production, and accelerate the industrial development of all those who take part in such cooperation."

Proceeding from these aspects, Czechoslovakia has concluded long-term agreements on economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation with such countries as, for example, Austria, Denmark, Switzerland, Italy, Great Britain, Belgium and Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Turkey. The implementation of these agreements through specific cooperation contracts is left up to Czechoslovak economic organizations, manufacturing enterprises and foreign trade corporations so authorized. We leave the forms of cooperation up to the will of the interested parties. However, this approach is being sometimes interpreted by the Western states as one-way traffic — that such cooperation would involve only imports by Czechoslovakia. From the theoretical and practical viewpoints, such transactions basically do not differ from classical purchases and sales. We, however, are interested in this case in cooperation which also covers the production sphere, or rather that sphere in the first place. Currently, we are engaged in this type of cooperation in 46 cases on the basis of contracts covering primarily cooperation in the engineering and chemical industries. Both are progressive branches of our national economy and engineering in particular has a distinguished tradition and a broad production base with a highly skilled labour force.

Czechoslovakia also possesses a strong scientific and technological base which annually receives 3.6 per cent of the national income for development purposes. Some 176,000 people are employed in Czechoslovak science, research and development. Our country also has wide experience in international cooperation in this field, gained from projects and activities realized both bilaterally and multilaterally.

The contractual and legal foundation for the development of scientific and technological cooperation with the advanced capitalist states is provided by the aforesaid agreements on economic, scientific and technological cooperation, as well as by treaties on scientific and technological cooperation concluded with France, Italy, Sweden

and Japan, and agreements concluded by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, or its individual institutes, with scientific institutions in such countries as Canada, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Sweden, Great Britain and the united States.

There is promising development of scientific and technological cooperation realized under specific contracts concluded with such foreign firms as Siemens, Montedison, Fiat, Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Imperial Chemical Industry, Sperry Rand Corporation, and others.

This cooperation covers a wide range of projects. Thus, for example, the Ostrava-Karviná Mines cooperate with the French corporation Charbonnage de France in face-cutting and propping, digging of tunnels, remote control of operations and inspection of the production process, industrial safety, mine rescue techniques and other fields. This cooperation and exchange of information and scientific findings benefit both parties. The French experts, for example, found highly attractive the Czechoslovak system of long-distance signalization of fire hazard in mines.

Czechoslovakia is also very active in pursuing scientific and technological cooperation within the scope of international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental.

Thus, for example, within the framework of the UN Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), Czechoslovakia is involved in the solution of 21 basic projects in the environmental sphere alone. Within the framework of UNESCO, Czechoslovakia—acting primarily through its Academy of Sciences—participates in the realization of such major natural-science programmes as, for example,

— the international hydrological programme, where Czechoslovak scientific institutions have assumed 23 research tasks,

— Man and Biosphere, where Czechoslovakia is involved in a number of selected projects,
— the International Programme of Geological Correlation, where Czechoslovakia is responsible for 5 projects and participates in 16 additional ones.

Some institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences act as European coordination centres, as for example in the fields of physical chemistry and electro-chemistry.

Czechoslovakia broadly participates in projects, conferences and professional meetings sponsored by the International Atomic Energy Agency, FAO and the World Health Organization.

Last year, Czechoslovak institutions organized in this country 22 major activities of international governmental organizations, most, if not all of them, in the area of scientific and technological cooperation.

HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

Czechoslovakia devotes attention to all the fields of environmental protection listed in the Final Act as suitable for international cooperation. They include control of air and water pollution, land and soil utilization, nature conservation and nature reserves, improvement of environmental conditions in areas of human settlement, and study of environmental changes.

The legal basis for the aforesaid tasks is currently provided in Czechoslovakia by a number of laws and is apportioned among the competent ministries and governmental agencies. At the same time, the necessary economic, technological and institutional prerequisites are being gradually created for drawing up a single, comprehensive law concerned with environmental matters.

An acute problem is that of air pollution control. Due particularly to an intensive utilization of brown coal, sulphur compounds are being emitted into the atmosphere. Therefore, Czechoslovakia is working on the installation of desulphurization equipment, and highly effective ash separators have already been put into operation. Thus, for example, in the industrial centre of Ostrava the quality of human environment has pronouncedly improved in the past decade.

Czechoslovakia envisages a broadly-based activity in all fields of environmental control, especially in tracing pollution and in applied research.

Czechoslovakia is actively participating in international meetings concerned with environmental problems and promotes cooperation in this sphere. In addition to cooperation within the framework of the CMEA, it is active in a number of the specialized agencies of the United Nations, particularly in WHO, UNEP, UNESCO and the EEC. Within the framework of the UNEP Action Programme, it is involved in the GEMS and IRS systems, and in other projects.

Our country has also made available the results of a study conducted here in the field of ecological territorial planning and is drawing up for the UN Economic Commission for Europe a document entitled "Europroject", which contains a programme of cooperation in solving ecological problems in Europe.

Czechoslovakia also plays an important role in the realization of the UN project "Ecological Protection". Within the framework of this project, a Czechoslovak Centre for Human Environment was established in Bratislava as an independent research organization which is concerned with pollution trends and economic analyses of the effect of human activity on environment, as well as with ecological prognoses. This Centre also cooperates with UNEP in introducing an international system of exchange of scientific and technological information on human environment

(IRS). At the same time it acts as the principal body of the information sub-system of the CMEA countries for matters of human environment (INFORMOOS).

Research institutes of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences cooperate in the UNESCO project Man and the Biosphere, which centres on study of the dependence of man's life on the environment.

In the Economic Commission for Europe, Czechoslovak experts cooperate in the solution of 21 tasks and are especially active in the working group concerned with the problem of clean air and long-distance transmission of pollutants.

Within the framework of the joint UNEP and UNESCO programme "Education for Ecological Protection," Czechoslovakia is active in the fields of education, culture, and film and television production. Ecological problems are also the topic of special courses for officials of local government.

On November 13 to 15, 1979, a high-level all-European conference was held in Geneva's Palais des Nations on international cooperation in environmental protection. The conference met on the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries under the sponsorship of the UN Economic Commission for Europe and was attended by deputy heads of government, cabinet ministers and representatives of the CMEA, the EEC, UNESCO and other international organizations.

In a message addressed to the participants, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Leonid I. Brezhnev, noted that the conference was an important step towards deepening mutual understanding and further development of international cooperation for the benefit of nations and in the interest of peace in Europe and the world as a whole.

That all-European conference approved a Convention on Protection of the Air Against Pollution Over Long Distances Across the Frontiers of States and a Declaration on industrial production techniques with minimum or no waste and on the utilization of industrial waste. The two documents sum up recommendations to make use of industrial waste, to prevent air pollution and to promote better utilization of natural resources.

As the conference agreed, it is necessary to promote more actively international cooperation in air pollution control. It also noted that such cooperation can succeed only if the arms race is limited, peace is strengthened and the process of easing international tension continues.

Czechoslovakia attaches great significance to the successful course of that conference, because it pointed to the possibility of cooperation on an all-European scale on problems which are at present almost insoluble by a single or even several states. We believe that similar possibilities of cooperation also exist in other areas, such as energy and transport. Therefore, we strongly recommend the holding of congresses which would discuss matters of common interest in those two areas as well. Czechoslovakia is resolved to take an active part in their preparation.

In view of differences in the availability of natural resources and the growing fuel and energy deficit, there exist in most European countries realistic conditions for effecting projects of common interest. There exist production and technological prerequisites for establishing a uniform power grid in Europe in the not too distant future, which would link up the power-supply systems of the CMEA countries and Western Europe. This would make possible a more efficient utilization of the power-generating capacities now in existence by long-distance power transmission according to differences in time zones. All this, together with questions of

production, transmission and distribution of power, better utilization of the existing resources and the development of new ones, could be discussed at an all-European energy congress. As shown by the November 1979 session of senior government advisors on energy, held within the framework of the ECE, the congress participants would concentrate on the following questions: exchange of information on national energy programmes and assessment of development prospects, exchange of information on possibilities of trade and cooperation in the energy field. These are broad questions and their consideration could greatly promote cooperation on the all-European scale.

TRANSPORT

Transport is undoubtedly one of those factors which greatly promote development of cooperation between states parallel to the growth of contacts between them, the development of the international division of labour and growing economic interrelationship.

For this reason, Czechoslovakia has always devoted great attention to matters of treaties and agreements governing relations in the field of transport. Of the 34 states which, together with Czechoslovakia, had signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, this country has concluded bilateral, intergovernmental air transport agreements with 27 states, road transport agreements with 22 states, and inland navigation agreements with all the states with whom Czechoslovakia is linked by waterways of international significance. The sole exception is the Federal Republic of Germany, but negotiations on this matter are under way also with that country. As regards rail

transport, Czechoslovakia is a party to 26 direct international freight tariffs used by the railways of the European capitalist states.

An important role is also being played in Czechoslovakia's involvement in international cooperation in the field of transport by the test rail track circuit in Velim, which is a unique facility of this kind in Europe and which is being used for tests by railway companies of other countries on the basis of negotiated agreements.

Czechoslovakia is also party to many multilateral agreements of world-wide and all-European character. Currently, it is a contracting party to 19 conventions of this kind, concluded under the auspices of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, 18 conventions sponsored by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), 7 conventions concluded within the framework of the International Maritime Advisory Organization, 7 conventions governing matters of European rail transport, and 9 other agreements.

In keeping with that chapter of the Final Act, which is concerned with industrial cooperation and projects of common interest, Czechoslovakia participates in such projects as the introduction of automatic coupling, creation of a uniform European rail network of important international routes, the Rhine-Main-Danube and the Danube-Oder-Elbe canals, or the trans-European North-South motorway.

Czechoslovakia is involved in a major way in multilateral scientific and technological cooperation in the field of transport. It is actively participating in the work of the Research and Testing Institute of the International Railway Union (UIC). It has hosted and organized a number of international congresses, including the World Congress of the International Union of Public Transport (UITP) in 1977

and 1979, the World Congress of the Permanent International Association of Maritime Congresses (AIPCM) in 1979, and the World Road Congress of the Permanent International Association of Road Congresses (AIPCR) in 1979. The resolutions adopted by these congresses were a major contribution to the dissemination of the latest scientific and technological findings.

Czechoslovakia is engaged in multilateral cooperation in the field of transport within the framework of the ECE, particularly as regards the simplification and harmonization of administrative transport formalities, transport safety regulations, differences in international legal regulations governing passenger and freight transport, and other matters, as well as within the framework of the international organization Interlicht.

TOURISM

Czechoslovakia is well aware of the fact that international tourism promotes international understanding, better knowledge of the achievements of other countries in different fields, as well as economic, social and cultural progress.

As a country with a well-established tradition of tourism, we, therefore, do much to promote tourism. We publish tourist pamphlets in different languages and the monthly information bulletin Czechoslovak Travel News is being sent to 600 foreign newspapers, magazines and other information media. At sixteen frontier crossing points there are special publicity facilities providing information about Czechoslovakia. In cooperation with Teleexport, many publicity films about Czechoslovakia have been produced and offered to foreign television companies. Czechoslovakia also participates in international festivals of tourist films in a number of Western countries.

In the same field, we organize the annual Tourfilm international festival at which both Czechoslovak and foreign films on tourist themes are being shown with the participation of foreign experts.

We also make use of trade fairs and exhibitions abroad to promote tourism in this country, while foreign journalists and television teams from abroad are invited to Czechoslovakia to learn about tourist opportunities in this country.

The multilingual Interprogram broadcast of Czechoslovak Radio regularly carries information intended for prospective visitors to Czechoslovakia.

In 1979, Czechoslovakia, which has 15 million inhabitants, was visited by 18.3 million individuals from abroad, while 10.3 million Czechoslovak citizens traveled abroad. The number of trips to Western countries went up 7.5 per cent and the number of Western tourists coming here was 10.2 per cent higher compared with 1978.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE FINAL ACT

Czechoslovakia realizes that a major contribution to the implementation of the Final Act can be made by international organizations which—like the UN Economic Commission for Europe—have at their disposal not only the necessary staff, but also experience from work aimed at the promotion of relations between states with different social systems.

The brunt of the ECE work rests in the consideration and solution of a wide range of topical problems in the fields of trade, economy, industry, science, technology, human environment and transport, as well as other areas of economic activity — which are all matters relating to the implementation of the "Second Basket" of the Final Act. For this reason, too, the Economic Commission for Europe drew up a plan of action to apply the provisions of the Final Act in its work. Czechoslovakia has supported and intends to continue supporting the programme of the UN Economic Commission for Europe in particular where that organization makes a major contribution to the normalization of relations between states with different social systems in areas falling under its competence, as well as to the strengthening of East-West cooperation.

Our attention also centers on the activities of other governmental and non-governmental organizations, especially those which can help establish a new international economic order. These include primarily UNCTAD and UNIDO. We support the endeavour of the developing countries to create equitable and equal conditions for their participation in the world division of labour, i.e. conditions which would ensure their economic independence and development.

As a founding member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Czechoslovakia cannot but point to the fact that this organization, too, is doing much to implement the provisions of the Final Act, as demonstrated by its initiative in negotiating with the EEC. There is also the participation of the CMEA in the realization of projects aimed at improvement of human environment, or organization of the construction of long-distance gas and oil pipelines which are the most modern means of delivery of fuels for power generation.

Much evidence could be found in the work of the CMEA bodies, showing that in many respects the activities of this organization represent an important contribution to the implementation of the provisions embodied in the document adopted by the Helsinki Conference.

The course of Czechoslovakia's cooperation with the advanced capitalist states demonstrates the viability of the provisions of the Final Act in the fields of trade, industry, science, technology, environment and transport. At the

same time it shows that by far not everything has been done for the implementation of that document. Therefore we must oppose the protectionist practices whose incidence has recently been growing in some Western countries, and the less so can we agree with purposefully introduced new obstacles or the stepped up application of old trade barriers, as this policy is currently being grossly pursued by the United States.

We noted in the introduction to this part, that the broader and more varied is the growth of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between states with different social systems, the firmer is the basis on which may rely the process of easing tension. Thus, we must view the provocatively discriminatory and repressive measures applied by the United States in the economic sphere, in which it also wants to involve other countries, particularly NATO members, as a gross violation of the provisions of the Final Act, which seriously hampers the continuation of the process of détente.

When even under this situation we are hopefully looking forward to the Madrid meeting, we do so because we have not ceased being optimists and want to believe that given the good will of all the participating countries, that meeting, based on the results of the post-Helsinki development with its positive and negative aspects, can open a new chapter which could show new prospects of mutually advantageous cooperation in the economic as well as the other spheres covered by the Final Act.

COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER FIELDS

The purpose of the Final Act adopted by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is to strengthen European security and promote such cooperation, which would benefit all nations and help develop the material and spiritual conditions of their life. The preamble of the Final Act, relating to cooperation in humanitarian and other fields, notes that the participating states desire "to contribute to the strengthening of peace and understanding among people and to the spiritual enrichment of the human personality without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" and that "increased cultural and educational exchanges, broader dissemination of information, contacts between people and the solution of humanitarian problems will contribute to the attainment of these aims." Consequently, they are determined "to cooperate among themselves, irrespective of their political, economic and social systems..." and are "convinced that this cooperation

should take place in full respect for the principles guiding relations among participating States. . ."

Czechoslovakia's position on the problem of cooperation in the humanitarian field was unequivocally expressed by its President, Gustáv Husák, when he signed the Final Act in Helsinki in 1975. At that time he said: "We consider as an important aspect of man's all-round development in peaceful conditions the broadest possible access to the true cultural values of mankind. For this reason we favour the broadest possible, mutual inspiration by cultural values, an exchange of ideas and information serving peaceful understanding and the all-round development of man. We favour a broad exchange of persons, which would promote concrete, generally useful and beneficial cooperation as well as mutual knowledge. We are already now promoting such effective and creative cooperation in many respects with many countries on all continents. We establish ever broader contacts between social organizations, the youth, representatives of science, culture and education, as well as in the fields of sport and tourism. We are firmly convinced that as the conditions of peace and security are ever more reliably ensured, the more favourable will be the opportunities of further expansion of these relations in other fields as well."

Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries proceed in this respect from the understanding of the Final Act as of an organic entity, which that document undoubtedly is, and are striving for the comprehensive realization of all its provisions without the ommission or accentuation of some of its parts alone. Cooperation and exchanges in the humanitarian fields are impossible without respect for such principles, as non-interference in internal affairs, equality and self-determination of nations, and others.

The opposite approach has demonstrated on more than one occasion, that it does not promote confidence among nations, or the cause of peace and security, but rather that it

undermines them. Cooperation in the humanitarian field must be based on finding such values and areas of activity, which promote mutual understanding. It must not be based on accentuation of matters which divide people and nations, and which do not serve "the strengthening of peace and understanding among people." When this kind of approach has the added character of purposefully organized campaigns against a group of states—as we see it in some Western countries—then it turns into a psychological war and becomes a part and a weapon of the Cold War. A classical example this year was the campaign against the Olympic Games in Moscow. The Olympic movement, whose philosophy and substance have always been based on the noble objectives of mutual understanding, was being exploited primarily by American politicians as an instrument for building barriers between peoples and states with different social systems.

If we were to believe some Western newspapers and periodicals, the "Third Basket" of the Final Act is one of the basic criteria of easing international tension. This Western approach of isolating the "Third Basket" from the other provisions of the Final Act, or of equating the "Third Basket" with the problem of human rights, is being used to instil in the public mind in the capitalist countries the belief that the future course of détente and normalization of relations with the socialist countries does not depend on the implementation of the Final Act as a whole, on respect for the principles guiding mutual relations between states, but that it is dependent on a quantitative expansion of contacts and cooperation in the humanitarian fields, on a free exchange of people and ideas. This is contrary to the basic concept of the Final Act as a whole, where the "Third Basket" is integrally linked—in letter and spirit—with the strategy of peaceful coexistence and should be only one of the means of building the structure of peaceful cooperation among the nations of Europe and security of our continent.

CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

Czechoslovakia approaches the realization of the Final Act in the field of culture with the awareness that "cultural exchanges and cooperation promote contribute to a better comprehension among people and among peoples," that "the development of mutual confidence and the further improvement of relations between the participating States" require "to continue further efforts toward progress in this field," aimed at expansion of contacts, exchanges and mutual access to cultural values, as stated in those parts of the Final Act, concerned with culture.

Czechoslovakia is one of Europe's richest countries as regards its cultural heritage and traditions. Its current cultural relations with other countries rest on old and solid foundations and are extremely varied and intensive.

Exchanges and cooperation are pursued in all fields of culture, ranging from music, literature, the fine arts and the theatre to film, television and such forms as special exhibitions, Days of Czechoslovak Culture held abroad, or participation in and organization of various festivals, competitions, etc. All these cultural relations are based on treaties and agreements, and are realized within the framework of implementing plans to cultural agreements, within the framework of cultural exchange programmes, or other documents of contractual nature. Currently, Czechoslovakia has 67 cultural agreements with other countries, of which 23 cultural agreements and two cultural exchange programmes have been concluded with other signatory states of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Besides its far-reaching cultural exchanges and cooperation with the socialist states, where especially in the recent period multilateral forms have been growing in importance, covering practically all fields of culture—in particular publishing activities, the theatre and music—Czechoslovakia also maintains very good cultural cooperation and exchanges with many Western countries. Most extensive in volume are its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Sweden and, most recently, also with Finland, Spain, the Netherlands and some other countries.

Within the framework of implementing plans to cultural agreements last year, for example, we realized a number of exhibitions documenting the high standard of Czechoslovak art, the advanced level of Czechoslovak museums, and first and foremost the attention the socialist state pays to its cultural heritage. In 1979 alone, which was the International Year of the Child, we organized a number of successful exhibitions, such as an exhibition of children's books in Norway, an exposition of Czechoslovak toys in Holland, an exhibition of children's art in Finland, or a show of the works of Jiří Trnka in France, to name only some.

The Final Act lists among various forms of cultural cooperation international actions in the fields of fine arts, film, the theatre, music, book fairs, etc.

If we review the past year, 1979, we may recall some of Czechoslovakia's achievements in the field of culture, both at home and abroad. Highly positive results were produced by Czechoslovak participation at international festivals and competitions, book fairs, fairs of gramophone records, and art exhibitions, but also by appearances abroad of top musical bodies and individual performing artists. Great publicity success was scored, for example, at the book festival in Nice, where a press conference was also attended by the head of a delegation of Czechoslovak writers, the Minister of Culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic, National Artist Miroslav Válek. We may also recall the successful introduction in the United States of Eugen Suchoň's opera Krútňava, attended by the composer, or foreign concert tours by the Czech and Slovak Philharmonic Orchestras, the State Philharmonic Orchestra of Brno, the Prague Symphony Orchestra and others.

Czechoslovak musical bodies and performing artists appeared last year at 34 different international festivals in France, Austria, Turkey, Spain, Holland, Italy, Sweden and other countries. An especially important event was the appearance at the Wiener Festwochen festival in Austria of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra and the opera company of the State Theatre in Brno with conductor Zdeněk Košler. In 1979, Czechoslovak films were shown at 101 international film festivals and won 43 awards. The Pragokoncert agency sponsored last year 39 foreign concert tours by 22 Czechoslovak artists in most Western countries. Czechoslovak groups and performing artists have won many awards and prizes. Reviews published in the foreign press document their successful work and promotion of the high standard of

Czechoslovak culture. We should also recall Czechoslovakia's participation at important events in the publishing business and book trade in such countries as the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium or Italy.

Czechoslovakia, too, organizes a number of major cultural events with broad international participation. They include such by now traditional festivals, as the annual Prague Spring and Bratislava music festivals, the International Television Festival of Films for Children and Youth in Bratislava, the International Television Festival in Prague, the International Film Festival in Karlovy Vary, or the Biennale of Illustrations of Children's Books in Bratislava. Besides these regular events, 1979 saw, for example the Prague Quadriennale, a review of stage design, which was attended by 23 countries with national expositions. The opening ceremony was attended by some 500 foreign delegates from 28 countries.

Acting in harmony with the provision of the Final Act concerning dissemination of translations of belles lettres and other literature from the other participating states, Czechoslovakia is endeavouring to present to its readers in translation all the best humanistic and progressive values of world literature, be they classics or books by new authors. Thus, in 1978, 223 works of Western literature were translated into Czech and in 1979, 185 works. In 1978 37 Czech books were translated in the Western countries and 53 in 1979. In Slovakia, 101 Western literary works were translated into the Slovak language in 1978, and by August 1979 an additional 69 works. In the same period, 9 Slovak literary and dramatic works were translated in the Westen countries, including professional non-fiction. (In all cases the translations are of books whose authors are covered by copyright.)

Czechoslovakia is consistently implementing its obliga-

tions within the framework of the Final Act, as it relates to the field of culture, primarily those, arising from the implementing plans to cultural agreements. It is endeavouring to further expand these contacts and exchanges, as it had undertaken by signing the Final Act which states in the relevant passage that the participating states are disposed "to increase substantially their cultural exchanges . . . and to develop among them an active cooperation, both at the bilateral and the multilateral level, in all the fields of culture." The efforts to promote this cooperation are documented by the fact that Czechoslovakia has also been the recipient of actions which are outside the scope of the cultural agreements it has with the Western states. Thus, for example, in 1979 we saw in Czechoslovakia the American ensembles The Los Angeles Jubilee Singers and the Alvin Ailey Dance Theater, from the Federal Republic of Germany the exhibition Photography in Science and Technology and the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra which appeared at the Bratislava Music Festival, or from Austria the exhibition Fascism in Austria and the Burgtheater from Vienna.

The following few figures should illustrate the extent of Czechoslovakia's cultural contacts with other countries:

In 1976, the extent of cultural relations was represented by 22,908 Czechoslovak artists and cultural workers traveling abroad, 12,288 of them in Western states. In the same year we received from abroad 10,917 persons, 1,903 of them from Western states. In 1979 the number of persons who traveled from Czechoslovakia abroad in cultural pursuits had risen to 24,078, 12,434 of them in Western states, while the number of foreign guests received in Czechoslovakia was 10,180, 1,980 of them from Western countries.

Extensive cultural cooperation and contacts which present the cultural standard of individual states are of great, unceasing importance not only for furthering mutual understanding and knowledge among states and nations, but also for the consolidation of peace and friendship. Czechoslovakia spends annually large sums for the continued development of cultural cooperation. In doing so, it is endeavouring to develop these contacts also in the future in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, to promote better mutual understanding between people and between nations, and thus help the growth of mutual confidence and further improvement of relations between states with different social systems.

THE MASS MEDIA AND THEIR ROLE IN IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES

The endeavour to implement consistently all the provisions adopted by the Helsinki Conference under conditions of peaceful coexistence of two contradictory social systems and to establish mutually advantageous cooperation between them also places greater demands on the mass media of information. Under the current international situation, these media should present to the broadest masses of people truthfully and objectively the real state of the most topical problems of today—problems of easing international tension, military détente, disarmament, creation of conditions for equal cooperation in all spheres—and to interpret the possibilities and prospects arising from the Final Act.

Czechoslovakia, just as the other socialist states, has adopted a positive attitude to the problems of international dissemination of information. By having signed the Final Act, it expressed its readiness to help disseminate and

deepen information about the life and problems of the other participating states, to cooperate with them and to facilitate the best possible mutual knowledge of nations. This means that people in the countries of the world socialist system should be informed about the Western world and, in return, that people in Western countries should get the most detailed information about realistic socialism.

However, there is a basic problem involving the objectivity of information. There exist fundamental differences between the socialist and the Western concepts of exchange of information. While the socialist states want to make use of information for learning about other nations and their problems for the purpose of pursuing mutually advantageous cooperation, some Western states, or rather certain groups in them, frequently pursue interests and objectives which are far removed from this approach.

Nevertheless, the socialist states are not averse to cooperation in this field and, on the contrary, are actively seeking it. However, they are interested in and fully support the receipt of such information and all cultural values from other countries, which benefit peace, enrich mutual understanding and promote internationally advantageous, mutual cooperation on the basis of equality.

We cannot accept the situation where under the guise of disdemination of information and observance of human rights the Western countries are waging against the socialist states various hostile campaigns which decidedly do not promote mutual understanding and growth of confidence among nations, but rather strive for the opposite. The Western states are thus frequently trying to cover up their own shortcomings, and their favourite argument about "public opinion pressure" is used simply as an excuse for or explanation of their activity which cannot be qualified otherwise than as interference in the internal affairs of other

states. There is no place for such types of information in international relations because they undermine cooperation between states with different social systems, provoke distrust and tension between states, and in their and effect endanger world peace.

Therefore, Czechoslovakia fully supports those principles guiding relations between states, as they are expressed in the Final Act and on the basis of which cooperation is to be developed in different fields, including the information sphere. We reject any arbitrary interpretation of these principles or confusion of the true substance of the obligations arising from the Final Act. Czechoslovakia is implementing its information policy within the framework of these basic principles with the objective of showing the truth about realistic socialism, to inform other states about our achievements in the political, economic and cultural areas, and through the mass media of information to create the prerequisites for expanding cooperation among nations.

It was in this spirit, that Czechoslovakia approached the realization of different measures in the field of information activity with the objective "to facilitate the freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds, to encourage cooperation in the field of information and the exchange of information with other countries, and to improve the conditions under which journalists from one participating State exercise their profession in another participating State..."

The states which participated in the Helsinki Conference undertook "to facilitate the improvement of the dissemination on their territory of newspapers and printed publications, periodical and non-periodical, from the other participating states. For this purpose: they will encourage their competent firms and organizations to conclude agreements and contracts designed gradually to increase the quantities

and the number of titles of newspapers and publications imported from the other participating states."

On the basis of these concrete provisions, Czechoslovakia's cooperation with other countries in the information sphere is developing under both short-term and long-term agreements.

At the present time, Czechoslovak Radio has agreements and operational protocols with the broadcasting organizations of 39 countries, 16 of them European. Most of these contacts and agreements are with Western states.

Czechoslovak Television has concluded with its partner organizations abroad 29 long-term agreements and seven agreements are in the negotiating process. In 1979, it concluded agreements with the Spanish and Finnish television corporations. It is also interested in expanding its cooperation and contacts with its British and Italian partners on a commercial and contractual basis.

Cooperation in the information sphere is also pursued by Czechoslovak Film which has concluded operational protocols with film-producing organizations in 14 countries. Among the West European countries the most prominent are France and Spain, while negotiations are under way with Italian film-makers.

The Czechoslovak Union of Journalists, too, actively cooperates with foreign partners. It has concluded cooperation agreements with journalists' organizations in the socialist states and two contractual documents with Western partners — the General Journalists' Union of Finland and the Austrian Concordia Club. Czechoslovakia spends annually large funds on importing foreign press.

The Final Act notes that the participating states will "contribute to the improvement of access by the public to periodical and non-periodical printed publications..."

In keeping with this provision, Czechoslovakia introduced

as for january 1, 1977, the free sale at such highly frequented places, as first-class hotels, airports and Postal Press Delivery Service salesrooms, of some leading Western newspapers, including The International Herald Tribune, The Financial Times, the Süddeutsche Zeitung, Die Presse, La Monde, Le Peuple, or the Neue Zürcher Zeitung.

As regards the "improvement of working conditions for journalists" abroad, the participating states are supposed under the provisions of the Final Act primarily to:

— "examine in a favourable spirit and within a suitable and reasonable time scale requests from journalists for visas;"
— "grant to permanently accredited journalists of the participating States, on the basis of arrangements, multiple entry and exit visas for specified periods;"
— "facilitate the issue to accredited journalists of the participating States of permits for stay in their country of temporary residence. . .;"
— "increase the opportunities for journalists of the participating States to communicate personally with their sources, including organizations and official institutions."

Czechoslovakia pursues an "open-door" policy towards foreign journalists. Every year this country is visited by an average of five to six thousand journalists from abroad, roughly half of them from non-socialist countries. At present, about one hundred foreign journalists are accredited in Czechoslovakia on a long-term basis. In keeping with the provisions of the Final Act, they can freely move about the country. The visa procedure has been simplified for them. They have multiple entry and exit visas and their accreditation is extended after six months. In addition, an agreement was concluded with Austria in 1979, for example, providing for the granting of permanent entry

and exit visas for 180 days to Austrian journalists and member of their family. Czechoslovak diplomatic and consular missions abroad have the authority to grant entry visas to sports journalists and to radio, television and film reporters accompanying foreign athletes to sports events held in Czechoslovakia. This Czechoslovak policy is much more flexible compared with most Western countries. Journalists coming to Czechoslovakia either for a short stay or under long-term accreditation obtain their information in the normal manner and have the opportunity to interview high-level peronalities. Every year, hundreds of events are organized for them, such as press conferences at Federal and National ministries, excursions to places of interest, including factories and enterprises in different parts of the country, talks with official representatives, etc. All of this offers them the possibility to learn about the life of the people of Czechoslovakia and the achievements we have scored in this country in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

As one of only a few countries, Czechoslovakia has press and informations centres—in Prague and Bratislava—whose sole purpose is to attend to the needs of foreign journalists. Hundreds of foreign journalists appreciated the assistance they get from these centres.

Irrespective of these facts, we still hear assertions in the West, that the flow of information between the East and the West is insufficient. However, facts document the real state of affairs. Such facts may also be found, for example, in UNESCO yearbooks. There we learn, for instance, that the ratio between translation of literature from the socialist countries, including classics, published in the West and translations of Western authors published in the socialist countries is 1:25, while the ratio between films bought by the Western states in the socialist countries and films bought

by the socialist countries in the West is 1:15. In the case of Czechoslovakia the latter ratio was 1:5. This is more than unfavourable in view of the fact that Czechoslovak films win every year many awards at international festivals and Czechoslovak Film is a member of nine international non-governmental film organizations.

We are well aware of the fact that the question of exchanges in this field cannot be one of "book for book, film for film." But the disproportion is so great, that we must necessarily reach the conclusion that it is due to obstacles consciously placed by the West on the way to cultural values from the socialist countries. Facts from this field show that what is being called "free exchange of information" is an illusion because it ignores such realities, as the basic socio-policital divergencies between states of the two different social systems, the specific features of the culture of individual countries, the mores of each country and its social customs. Moreover, it also ignores the degree of détente in Europe and the stage of solution of all-European problems. For these reasons, the socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, have always underlined that the Final Act, its provisions concerning cooperation, including cooperation in the field of information, and the methods of its realization must correspond to the stage of peaceful coexistence, at which we find ourselves at present. The turbulent state of current international relations indicates that the principles guiding that coexistence have not yet been fully integrated in international politics and that much is left to be done in order to exclude from those politics primarily attempts at ideological confrontation through psychological war against and interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries. Such practices only increase international tension and thereby prevent a broader development of all-round cultural, scientific and any other exchange of values.

PROMOTION OF TOURISM AND HUMAN CONTACTS

"The participating States consider that tourism contributes to a fuller knowledge of the life, culture and history of other countries, to the growth of understanding among peoples, to the improvement of contacts and to the broader use of leisure. They intend to promote the development of tourism, on an individual or collective basis. . ."

In another point, relating to travel for personal or professional reasons, the Final Act stipulates that "the participating States intend to facilitate wider travel by their citizens. . ." and therefore intend "gradually to simplify and to administer flexibly the procedures for exit and entry, to ease regulations concerning movement of citizens from the other participating States in their territory, with due regard to security requirements." Within the framework of its implementation of the provisions of the Final Act in the field of tourism and travel, Czechoslovakia has adopted a whole set of measures.

For example, in order to speed up the processing at border

crossing points, two new crossing points were opened on the Austrian frontier (Studánky — Weigetschlag and Hevlín — Laa a. d. Thaya) while checkpoints on the frontiers with Hungary, Poland and the German Democratic Republic are being reconstructed. Cooperation with the customs authorities of these three countries is being expanded, and the crossing points Pomezí and Folmava on the frontier with the Federal Republic of Germany were reconstructed and modernized. Truck transport has been partly separated from tourist traffic.

In order to facilitate travel formalities, agreements were concluded with Austria last year on the granting of visas to accredited journalists, on visa-less travel of bearers of service passports, and on free visas for travel for economic, cultural, scientific and sports purposes. In 1978, following protracted negotiations, agreement was reached with the United States in the form of exchanged diplomatic notes to facilitate the granting of visas and a similar agreement was prepared with Great Britain. In addition, Czechoslovakia proposed to Norway last year that multiple entry and exit visas should be granted to members of the Norwegian diplomatic mission in Prague and members of the Czechoslovak diplomatic mission in Oslo.

One good example is cooperation with Finland, with which Czechoslovakia agreed in 1975 to waive visas for all passports.

Here we should also mention such measures, as the abolishment of Czechoslovak re-entry visas to citizens of socialist states permanently residing in this country, if they travel to a European socialist state and for reasons of employment are living in Czechoslovakia. Also simplified were the formalities required for the marriage of a Czechoslovak citizen to an alien. There are no restrictions in force in this country for a Czechoslovak woman to marry a foreign citizen.

As regards tourist travel formalities, Czechoslovak regulations are more flexible than those of Western countries. Czechoslovak diplomatic and consular missions grant Czechoslovak visas to foreign citizens in most cases immediately or within two to four days. On the other hand, Czechoslovak tourists or journalists, or persons traveling for professional reasons, must frequently wait several weeks or even months before they get their visa to a Western state, must fill in complex questionnaires and submit a number of photographs.

Czechoslovak passport control authorities create conditions for simplifying the passport agenda and for a speedier issue of travel documents.

Travel documents attached to personal identity cards for travel to socialist states are issued immediately. Passports and exit visas for travel to capitalist states are issued within two weeks. The validity of Czechoslovak travel documents may be prolonged for up to fifteen years.

All these measures promote foreign travel. Czechoslovakia is one of the countries most frequented by tourists in Central Europe. Every year, several million tourists come here from abroad and frequently their number exceeds the total population of Czechoslovakia. In recent years tourist traffic has intensified with visitors coming here from both socialist and non-socialist countries. This is demonstrated by statistical figures showing tourist travel by Czechoslovak citizens abroad and the number of foreign tourists visiting Czechoslovakia.

Year	Trips by Czechoslovak citizens to Western countries	Trips by Czechoslovak citizens to socialist countries	Total
1977	360,000	9,140,000	9,500,000
1979	436,654	9,831,092	10,267,746

Year	Visits to Czechoslovakia from Western states	Visits to Czechoslovakia from socialist states	Total
1977	960,000	16,840,000	17,800,000
1979	1,122,726	17,227,145	18,349,871

These figures show that foreign travel by Czechoslovak citizens is rather extensive in view of the total population of the country (more than 15 million) and that it is steadily growing. However, as in other countries, in Czechoslovakia, too, the intensity of that travel depends on the foreign exchange the government can allocate for that purpose in a given year.

Czechoslovakia has also adopted a number of important measures in connection with the provisions of the Final Act, concerning reunification of families. On this point, the participating states agreed that they would "deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family. . ."

The Czechoslovak Government issued a decree stipulating the principles for granting emigration permits to Czechoslovak citizens and settling Czechoslovakia's legal relationship to its citizens who are staying abroad without the permission of the Czechoslovak authorities. Both directives indicate Czechoslovakia's positive and active approach to the solution of these matters. They are also applied to cases of reunification of families of emigrés, in particular the emigration of minors and wives. From the beginning of 1976 to the end of 1978, emigration permits were granted to 6,517 individuals; 1,697 went to the socialist and 4,820 to Western capitalist countries. Most of the applications submitted in that period were settled positively. There are only a few unsettled cases and they are being reviewed. We may therefore note that in this area, too, the Final Act is being duly implemented by Czechoslovakia.

COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION

Education in general is oriented in Czechoslovakia so as to evoke in the consciousness of young people the sense for the development and protection of the supreme human values, of the noble principles of peace and friendship among nations. At the same time, however, it imbues them with an uncompromising opposition to aggression, militarism, revanchism, hegemonism, zionism, apartheid and propagation of racial or ethnic superiority, with opposition to anything, which runs counter to the universally recognized principles of humanism and morality. The Czechoslovak educational system raises young people in the spirit of peace, encouraging them to strive and work for peace, for disarmament, and for friendship and equal cooperation among nations. All this with the objective of "better mutual understanding" which would be "to the advantage of all peoples as well as to the benefit of future generations," as called for by the Final Act.

Just as any cooperation which is to serve progress and the strengthening of peace and friendly relations among states, cooperation and exchanges in the field of education, too, can be realized—in view of the existing differences in social systems and thus also in educational systems—only if there is full respect for the ten principles guiding relations between the participating states, as they are stipulated in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. It can thus develop only when states "...respect each other's right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as its right to determine its laws and regulations."

The signatories of the Final Act expressed in that part of the document, which deals with cooperation and exchanges in the field of education, their readiness "to facilitate between organizations, institutions and persons engaged in education and science, the further development of exchanges of knowledge and experience," their desire "to strengthen the links among educational and scientific establishments and also to encourage their cooperation in sectors of common interest," and their conviction that "progress in these fields should be accompanied and supported by a wider knowledge of foreign languages."

With these objectives in mind, Czechoslovakia approaches the realization of its foreign contacts in the field of education in full conformity with the provisions of the Final Act which speaks of the need to "expand and improve at various levels cooperation and links in the fields of education and science... by concluding, where appropriate, bilateral or multilateral agreements... promoting the conclusion of direct arrangements between universities and other institutions of higher education and research... encouraging among persons engaged in education and science direct contacts and communications..."

The foreign contacts maintained by Czechoslovakia in the field of education represent a wide range of exchange and cooperation in different areas and at various levels between educational and scientific institutions.

Besides the existing extensive contacts with the other socialist countries, where cooperation steadily grows far beyond the scope of the Final Act, Czechoslovakia is also trying to promote educational contacts with Western countries. There, cooperation and exchanges are pursued primarily with France and Great Britain, as well as with Austria, Finland, Italy, Sweden, Spain, Portugal and other countries.

Just as cultural relations, educational contacts with other countries, too, are realized on the basis of implementing plans to cultural agreements, cooperation programmes and other documents. Last year, for example, implementing plans to cultural agreements were signed with Portugal, Spain, Holland, Austria and Greece, which fact has greatly intensified cooperation and exchanges with those countries. Thus, useful contacts were established between the Faculty of Mathematics and Physics of Charles University in Prague and the University of Vienna, and last year the Minister of Education of the Czech Socialist Republic visited Austria, giving a new impetus to cooperation between the two universities.

Prevalent in Czechoslovakia's exchanges with Western countries in the field of science are long-term study trips and participation in language courses. Also important is cooperation between Czechoslovak universities and foreign universities and institutions of higher education (e.g. in France and Italy), and exchange of lecturers, where a major factor is the extent of training of foreign languages at Czechoslovak schools. As regards the work of Czechoslovak lecturers abroad, in the academic year 1978—1979,

there were 35 lecturers teaching the Czech language at foreign schools, 13 of them in Western countries, 3 teachers taught at the Czech schools operated by the Educational Society Comenius in Vienna, and 7 lecturers gave courses in Slovak at Western schools.

In the educational field, Czechoslovakia cooperates with international governmental and non-governmental organizations, mainly within the framework of UNESCO, where it is involved in different programmes and projects, international postgraduate courses, etc. Here we should point to the cooperation existing between the European Information Centre for Postgraduate Education of Teachers at Charles University in Prague and the Subregional Documentation Centre for Project No. 2 of the Man and the Biosphere Programme. As regards information activity in the field of education, Czechoslovakia provides to the magazines and bulletins published by UNESCO different materials and especially information on international events held or prepared in this country.

An important aspect of educational contacts are scientific conferences, symposia and other sessions sponsored by Czechoslovak institutions of higher education for Czechoslovak scholars and educators and their colleagues from abroad. These meetings with foreign experts enable Czechoslovak scholars to learn about the results of research in the respective field in other countries and to exchange experiences with their colleagues. Among the many congresses, conferences and symposia with foreign participation held in Czechoslovakia, note should be taken at least of the 10th Symposium on Space Biology and Medicine (INTERCOSMOS), the 4th Conference on Mathematics, the Congress on Neurosurgery, the International Symposium on Stereochemistry, the 9th Radio-Chemical Conference, the Colloquium on Cosmogenic

Isotopes in Extraterrestrial Objects, the Summer School of Slavonic Studies, or the 14th Summer Seminar on the Slovak Language and Literature, all held in 1978, and among the events held in 1979, the international symposium HUMUS at PLANTA VII — 1979, the Summer School of Slavonic Studies, the symposium on 16th to 18th century urban law in Europe, the Academia Film Festival in Olomouc, the international festival of environmental films ECOFILM, or the 2nd Danubian Symposium on Chromatography, to name only a few.

In addition, Czechoslovak specialists attended a number of events held abroad. In 1978, these included, for example, the 16th Philosophical Congress in Düsseldorf, the World Sociological Congress in Uppsala, or the 14th International Congress on Genetics in Moscow, and in 1979 the World Congress of the World Organization for Pre-School Education (OMEP) in Vienna, the World Road Congress, also held in the Austrian capital, the 11th IPSA Congress in Moscow, the 1979 International Conference of IPCP in Halle, and other congresses and conferences.

These events, as well as the sending of Czechoslovak scholars and students abroad and the reception of foreign scientists and students in this country, constitute a broad range of mutual exchanges and involve some 40,000 individuals annually. And although there exist certain material problems due to the growing costs of these activities, related to the inflationary rise of prices in the capitalist states, they do have an upward trend.

COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE

Science is one of those spheres of human activity, which progress at a tremendous pace. This progress, together with the development of the forces of production, is posing a wide range of problems to science, which no country alone can solve in their complexity, and the less so a country the size of Czechoslovakia, especially when the solution of some of the problems calls for such material and human potential, which frequently even a group of countries does not possess. Under these conditions, cooperation in the field of science has become an objective necessity, and differences in socio-economic systems should not be an insurmountable factor. Experience has shown that the influence of this factor is the lesser, the more favourable is the international political atmosphere and the more the principles of peaceful coexistence are being asserted. In view of these facts, Czechoslovakia, just as the other socialist states, is devoting all its energy to make the findings of modern science and cooperation in science serve primarily the continued development of all mankind and to prevent them from becoming humanity's Apocalypse.

For this reason, too, Czechoslovakia has approached with great responsibility the implementation of that part of the Final Act, which recommends that the participating states should "broaden and improve cooperation and exchanges in the field of science . . .increase, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, the exchange and dissemination of scientific information and documentation. . . facilitate the extension of communications and direct contacts between universities, scientific institutions and associations as well as among scientists and research workers. . ." Our endeavour is to make this cooperation serve peaceful purposes, strengthen peace and security, and be realized with full respect for state sovereignty, equality, non-interference in internal affairs and the other principles guiding relations between states, as they are stipulated in the opening Declaration of the Final Act.

The principal coordinators of scientific activity in Czechoslovakia, within whose competence also falls the implementation of the Final Act in the field of science, are the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (ČSAV) and the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAV). Ever since the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki in 1975, both these supreme scientific institutions have been actively participating within the framework of their competence in the realization of the pertinent provisions of that document, which today already represent a part of their international relations at different levels.

Czechoslovakia's contacts with other countries in the field of science are being realized on the basis of intergovernmental agreements on scientific and technological cooperation as well as on the basis of agreements concluded

between the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences—or its specialized research institutes—and scientific institutions abroad, as we have already mentioned when discussing the general problems of the "Second Basket". Czechoslovak foreign contacts in the field of science are also being realized on the basis of cultural agreements, as stipulated in the implementing plans to such agreements and programmes of cultural exchanges.

At the present, Czechoslovakia has 23 cultural agreements and two programmes of cultural exchanges with other signatory states of the Final Act. The extent of foreign contacts maintained by different institutes of the Czechoslovak and Slovak Academies of Sciences has a steadily rising trend. This is also indicated by the fact that last year, 4,295 Czechoslovak scientific workers were sent abroad, of whom 3,607 went to other socialist states and 617 to Western countries. In the same period of 1979, we received in Czechoslovakia 6,067 foreign scientific workers, of whom 4,746 came from socialist and 1,271 from Western states.

These figures show that we maintain the broadest scientific contacts and cooperation with the socialist countries. These contacts, which are realized on a bilateral and multilateral basis, by far exceed the scope of the Final Act and are one of the mainstays of Czechoslovakia's scientific and technological potential. They help Czechoslovak science realize projects and tasks (mainly thanks to cooperation with the Soviet Union), which it could never tackle alone. A classical example in this respect is Czechoslovakia's participation in nuclear research projects realized in the Dubno Nuclear Physics Research Centre in the Soviet Union, similarly as Czechoslovakia's participation in the joint programme of exploration and peaceful utilization of cosmic space—Intercosmos—which also made it possible for Czechoslovakia's cosmonaut Vladimír Remek to become a member of the first space flight of an international cosmic crew, just as the launching of the first Czechoslovak satellite into orbit.

Czechoslovakia is constantly expanding its scientific contacts with the Western countries. In the period 1976—1979, this endeavour concentrated mainly on those fields, where Czechoslovak science has been successfully developing and where cooperation was expected to benefit both sides. At the beginning of 1979, the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences had cooperation agreements with 12 scientific institutions in Western countries and 4 institutions in developing countries; through its own exchange quotas it also participated in the realization of intergovernmental agreements with 10 Western and more than 40 developing countries. Since 1974, the institutes and departments of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences have greatly expanded their cooperation with partner institutions abroad—mainly in France, Belgium and Italy—on the basis of agreements on scientific and technological cooperation.

Czechoslovak scientific workers attend different international scientific meetings held in Western countries, last year, for example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Austria and Great Britain. No less frequent and extensive is the participation of Western scientists and researchers in international events held in Czechoslovakia. Here we may recall the participation of scientists from the United States, Great Britain, Spain, Italy and a number of other countries. In 1977, Czechoslovakia hosted 91 such major scientific events — different congresses, conferences, symposia and seminars. A year later, in 1978, already 125 scientific events of this type were held in this country and were attended by 2,726 scientists from the socialist and 1,719 scientists from the Western states.

Besides bilateral contacts, the Czechoslovak Academy of

Sciences also actively cooperates with Western countries in international governmental and non-governmental organizations, UNESCO in the first place. The Academy acts as coordinator in the fields of natural and social sciences. It is involved in the most important natural science projects of UNESCO, specifically the international hydrological programme, the intergovernmental programme Man and the Biosphere, and the international program of geological correlation. Similarly, it participates in programmes in the areas of electro-chemistry, biophysics and seismology. For young scientists from the developing countries UNESCO provides postgraduate courses on modern problems of biology. In the sphere of social sciences, the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences concentrates in its cooperation with UNESCO on study of the impact of the scientific and technological revolution on contemporary society, on the programme "Study of Slav Cultures," and on editing the General History of Africa.

The Academy's cooperation with the World Health Organization concentrates on the work of the WHO reference centres in the Academy's Parasitological and Microbiological Institutes, and in the Virological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. The Academy's staff members are active in WHO scientific groups and projects, and attend sessions held by this international organization.

The Academy has also close cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency, including its International Centre of Theoretical Physics in Trieste, as well as with the FAO.

Wide-ranging is the Academy's cooperation with international non-governmental organizations. In the past decade it has had close contacts especially with the International Council of Scientific Unions—the ICSU—which associates the 18 largest international scientific unions in all

major fields of science, and the Academy is member of 15 of them and of 4 special ICSU committees. It is represented in these unions by Czechoslovak national committees, its scientific institutes and scientific societies, as well as by individual scientists, many of whom hold important offices in those organizations.

Naturally, extensive scientific cooperation—bilateral or multilateral, on the basis of collective or individual membership—would be impossible without a corresponding exchange of scientific information. In the broadest sense, the flow of this information is secured by the publishing organizations of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences—Academia—and of the Slovak Academy of Sciences—Veda. These publishing houses export Czechoslovak scientific publications and present them at different international book fairs abroad.

CZECHOSLOVAK YOUTH — AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Youth the world over wants to live in peace and enjoy the beauties of life. This is why currently we are witnessing an ever greater participation of youth in the struggle for peace, for easing international tension, for disarmament, for democracy, national independence, equality and social progress. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe spurred youth activity by creating further conditions for the development of contacts and cooperation among young people as well as among youth and student organizations. The Eleventh World Festival of Youth and Students in 1978 became one of the most extensive bases for broad cooperation and joint action by youth in most European countries. The endeavour to promote and implement the ideas voiced by the Helsinki Conference rallies all peaceful young people.

Czechoslovak youth, too, contributes in no small measure to the successful realization of the ideas enunciated

in the Final Act and to the promotion of contacts and exchanges among young people in the awareness of "the importance of developing mutual understanding and of strengthening friendly relations and confidence among peoples." Youth is the future of our country and thus our socialist state devotes constant attention to its education and its problems. Consequently, the level of education and professional qualification and skill of young people in this country are steadily growing, just as their work and social initiative. The overwhelming majority of our young people are firm advocates of socialism, viewing it as their guarantee and future in life. Young people hold important jobs in the national economy, they are active in social organizations and work in state administration. Many young people are to be found in the ranks of leading innovators, model workers, engineers, scientists and artists. By their drive and their attitude to socialist ideals, they serve as an example to the entire upcoming generation.

Our youth is organized in the Socialist Union of Youth. Within the framework of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, this organization was actively involved in one of the most significant events from the viewpoint of the implementation of the Final Act in the youth area — the European Meeting of Youth and Students in Warsaw. Similarly, it also participated in the preparation and holding of the European Conference of Youth and Students for Disarmament, which met in Budapest in 1978.

The states which signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe voiced their intention "to further the development of contacts and exchanges among young people by encouraging. . . study by their youth organizations of the question of possible agree-

ments relating to frameworks of multilateral youth co-operation."

In the spirit of this provision, agreements on friendship and cooperation have been signed with more than ten organizations within the framework of long-term co-operation with youth and student organizations in the Western countries. The broadest cooperation exists with youth organizations in the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Finland, Portugal, Greece and Cyprus, as also indicated by a number of exchanges and visits. For example, Czechoslovak youth delegations visited many Western countries in recent years — the United States, Canada, Finland, Ireland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Portugal, Austria, Belgium, France, Italy, Switzerland, Greece and Cyprus.

The young people of Czechoslovakia like to travel to other countries, meet their people, learn about their culture. They travel individually as well as collectively, using the services of the Youth Travel Bureau, the most important organizer of foreign youth travel in Czechoslovakia. Thousands of young people and students travel abroad every year through the Youth Travel Bureau which also caters to many youth travellers coming here from other countries. They have the opportunity to get to know how young people live in Czechoslovakia, under what conditions they study, what their opportunities are after leaving school, etc. There also exist other forms of mutual youth exchanges, such as the regular International Peace Camps, which are attended by students from many countries of the world. All these events and projects have as their objective—in keeping with the Helsinki spirit—better mutual understanding among young people, direct contacts between them, strengthening of their friendship and their further cooperation.

CONTACTS IN THE FIELD OF SPORT PROMOTE FRIENDSHIP AMONG NATIONS

Contacts in the field of sport are an important means of promoting friendship among nations of the whole world. Noble competition among young people, irrespective of their national origin, colour of skin, political allegiance, creates favourable conditions for better mutual understanding, strengthening of confidence and closer friendship. For this reason, the states which signed the Final Act agreed that "in order to expand existing links and cooperation in the field of sport... (they) will encourage contacts and exchanges of this kind, including sports meetings and competitions of all sorts, on the basis of established international rules, regulations and practice."

Czechoslovakia welcomed this provision of the Final Act. Its cooperation with other countries in the field of sport has always been a broad one. In the recent period the extent of bilateral sports contacts with all European states has further increased on the basis of already concluded or negotiated

agreements on cooperation in the field of sport. Thus, for example, a long-term sports agreement concluded with Austria in 1977 is being successfully realized. In 1979, similar agreements were concluded with the Federal Republic of Germany, Spain and Holland. Czechoslovakia has also proposed closer cooperation in the field of sport with Italy and France. Among the Western countries, we have the broadest contacts with Austria, where 1,781 Czechoslovak athletes participated in 123 different sports events in 1979. Next comes West Germany, where in the same year 1,428 Czechoslovak athletes participated in 98 events, and France, where 1,322 Czechoslovak athletes took part in 75 events. Busy sports contacts are also being maintained with Italy, Belgium, Switzerland and a number of other countries.

An important role is being played in international sports cooperation as well as in establishing new sports contacts by Czechoslovak trainers and coaches who are working abroad under long-term contracts. In 1979, for example, sixty of them were active in West European countries alone. Their work is highly appreciated abroad and the teams and sportsmen and sportswomen they train score good results.

Physical training has a mass basis in Czechoslovakia in all sports and Czechoslovak athletes like to compete with the athletes of other countries not only on home ground but also abroad. Czechoslovak athletes participate in all major sports competitions — world and European championships, important cup tournaments, etc. Our interest in promoting sports contacts is also confirmed by the fact that every year Czechoslovakia organizes a number of sports events of international character and of European or world importance. It is trying to make these events by their organization and scope objectively promote the implementation of the principles enunciated by the Helsinki Conference and

become to the same degree a suitable platform for further progress in achieving a unity of approach to matters of international cooperation in the field of sport. The most prominent among the events organized in Czechoslovakia are the traditional Peace Race in road cycling and the Peace Marathon in Košice. World public opinion showed good response to the World and European Ice Hockey Championships, the European Track and Field Championships, the European Weightlifting Championship and the World Championship in Women's Handball, all held in Czechoslovakia in 1978, while in 1979, Czechoslovakia hosted the European Junior Golf Championship, the World Cup in men's downhill ski racing, the World Cup in the 20 km ski run, and other events. Attention is also being paid in this country to events which are not competitions but which directly touch on sport, such as Intersport, an international exhibition of sports equipment, the International Symposium on Sports Medicine, and six sessions of international sports federations.

Recently we have witnessed a growing incidence of various disturbing factors being introduced also in the field of sport, all originating in political machinations and definitely undermining the spirit of the Helsinki Conference and further development of friendly cooperation in the field of sport. Besides such features, as reflections of apartheid, racial and other discrimination in sport, notorious primacy was gained in this respect by the United States and its position on the participation of American and other Western athletes in the 1980 Olympic games in Moscow. This boycott clearly demonstrated what can be done to sport and its noble ideals, when it is being abused for political objectives. Nevertheless, in spite of the American pressure to boycott the Olympic Games, 81 countries took part in that great sports competition and festival in Moscow.

In the period which has passed since the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki, the socialist states—and among them Czechoslovakia—have provided more than enough evidence of their implementation of the provisions of that document, falling within the "Third Basket". This evidence not only documents the good will and positive approach of the socialist states to cultural cooperation or contacts and exchange of information, but it also disproves assertions that these countries are not interested in promoting humanitarian contacts, exchange of information and exchange of cultural values, and that they are circumventing or even obstructing them.

Such assertions are utterly unsubstantiated. For the development of cultural cooperation has a motive force which is given by the state of development of the forces of production, the growth of the scientific and technological revolution, the international production process, the international division of labour, and the growth of the cultural and educational standards of the population. All these factors promote internationalization of culture because national culture, just as national economy, cannot develop under conditions of autarchy. Thus exchange of information and contacts become an objective necessity and need which can be satisfied the better, the more favourable are the international conditions promoting it.

This fact stands out very pronouncedly, when we compare the level and scope of cooperation in the cultural and humanitarian sphere at the time of the Cold War and in the late 1970s. It is obvious that military and political confrontation and aggressive anti-communism prevent cooperation. Further evidence of this fact was provided by the deterioration of Soviet-American relations, provoked by the Carter Doctrine which is based on a policy from a position of strength and on anti-communism in its crudest

form. The unilateral break-off of a number of contacts by the United States as well as by some of its allies, the cancellation of agreed upon exhibitions and concerts, the blocking of regular airline flights and other such moves demonstrated how easily cooperation can be disrupted by those who are trying once again to make the Cold War their official policy.

No less damaging is the abuse of cooperation in the humanitarian field as a legitimate channel for ideological subversion of the socialist countries through disinformation, exploitation of half-truths, and slanderous campaigns conducted by the full machinery of information media, including those of the Radio Free Europe type. Currently, Western propaganda argues that such activities are simply a part of the ideological struggle between the two social systems, of which Marxists and Communists so frequently speak.

In this respect, however, two things should be borne in mind. The first is the difference between competition of ideas and psychological war. And the second one is the fact that the Final Act set forth definite objectives for cultural and humanitarian cooperation, of which we spoke at the beginning of this chapter, i.e. the strengthening of peace and security. Thus, when we speak of cooperation in the humanitarian and cultural fields, we have in mind the promotion of such forms of this cooperation, which bring us closer to those objectives. Therefore, our door is wide open to everybody who wants to cooperate with us on this basis.

Our approach to these matters is sometimes being interpreted in the West by assertions that under this "cloak" human rights and freedoms are being curtailed and that for this purpose we are making use of national legislation. Contrary to the facts, the whole matter is being presented as if the legislation of the socialist states were only a set of

prohibitions and penal rules in contrast to the legislation of the Western countries, which, allegedly, alone can guarantee broad democratic rights. From there it is not far to the conclusion that the socialist states should constantly demonstrate that their legislation and the ways of its application, as well as their way of life, have reached the level corresponding to the standards of bourgeois democracy which by its alleged "perfection" is in itself a guarantee of implementation of the Final Act.

The sixteen million unemployed in the advanced Western states, discrimination of women in remuneration for work, different prejudices embodied in labour legislation, ownership law, divorce procedure, alimony, housing and pregnancy, problems of ethnic minorities, politico-religious problems of the Irish type, inability to liquidate poverty, inability to guarantee materially rights and freedoms formally proclaimed, not mentioning the high crime rate, or drug addiction, this incomplete list alone indicates that bourgeois democracy is a long way from perfection.

The image of socialist democracy, which Western propaganda is trying to evoke is quite false and artificially construed. This democracy is, in fact, based on the power of the people and is an instrument used by the people. It not only proclaims rights and freedoms, but also materially secures their implementation and enjoyment. Unemployment was done away with, and the right to work is not only constitutionally guaranteed, but is also realized as a matter of primary importance, just as the people's participation in decision-making in state and public affairs, there is social security at work, in illness and in old age, culture is accessible literally to all, as well as tourism — all of these offer evidence of materially secured, true democracy. At the same time, this democracy makes no secret of the fact that it also has

some restrictive laws. These include, for example, the law on the protection of peace, which prohibits war propaganda of any kind, a law which prohibits ethnic, racial or religious intolerance, incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence, a law making punishable promotion of fascism or any similar movement, a law which makes subject to punishment anybody who publicly and in an indignant manner slanders a nation or a group of the population of the Republic for their religious belief, or a law which makes punishable acts aimed at moral subversion and which strives for their prevention. All these laws are fully in harmony with the provisions of the Final Act. Consequently, the people of this country negatively respond to any attempt to abuse contacts or what is being called a free exchange of ideas and information for the purpose of circumventing or disregarding these laws and thereby to interfere in our internal affairs.

Czechoslovakia has always favoured expansion of contacts between people and has always worked for the mutual knowledge of the life of different countries. After all, the nations constituting Czechoslovakia have made a no small contribution to the cultural enrichment of Europe and the world. We continue our interest in the progressive art of the European nations. Our interest lies in true art — certainly not in would-be art or culture which sink into the morass of pornography and nihilism, propagation of fascism and racism, nationalism and chauvinism, crime and violence. We proceed from the conviction that if the exchange of cultural values should serve the purpose stipulated by the Helsinki Conference, namely "to contribute to the strengthening of peace and understanding among peoples and to the spiritual enrichment of the human personality," it must be an exchange of true cultural values, it must promote the strengthening of cooperation and mutual confidence, it

must serve progress and primarily peace, and it must create favourable relations between states and conditions for equality and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Czechoslovakia views cooperation in humanitarian and other fields as an important contribution to the promotion of the process of easing international tension — and within the framework of the entire complex of the Final Act, as it was adopted by the Helsinki Conference, it views contacts between people, exchange of information, and contacts in the fields of culture, education and science as factors which produce an atmosphere of confidence and security, help expand cooperation, and strengthen peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

CONCLUSION

The Final Act, which came into being in Helsinki in 1975, bears the signatures of the leaders of 35 countries of Europe, the United States and Canada. These signatures represent the moral and political pledges of the signatory states that they would observe the provisions of that document. They are Europe's great hope that it will live in peace, a hope that the vicious circle war—a brief period of peace—another war has been broken once and for all. The vast accumulation of conventional and nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the participating states makes them all face two alternatives — either live side by side observing the principles agreed upon in Helsinki, or death in the nuclear holocaust. Only a suicide or a lunatic who believes that he of all people will survive can choose the second alternative which would bring destruction not only to Europe but basically to all human civilization.

In this publication we wanted to underline once again, that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic favours the first

alternative. That peaceful coexistence is the mainstay of our foreign policy. That in the future as well, we want to implement the Final Act which points to the broad and varied way of how to realize in practice peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. In order to make this process irreversible, it is essential to back up political détente with military détente and to have all the 35 signatory states of the Final Act share in its realization, to launch the process of limiting armaments and of disarmament. In realizing this process, one cannot deceive the others, because deceiving the others means deceiving oneself. The current test to which this process is being submitted by the opponents of détente, mainly the extreme right-wing, militaristic and reckless forces of imperialism, increases the danger of a military conflict.

It is precisely because of this situation, that we believe it is more urgent than at any other time for all the advocates of peace, for all realistically-minded people, to close their ranks in the defence of the process launched in Helsinki, in promoting mutually advantageous cooperation, and in the endeavour to achieve further progress in strengthening security by extending the process of easing tension to the military sphere as well. The Madrid meeting is the best occasion in this respect.

This is in the interest of every one of us. It is in the interest of future generations. It is our duty to ensure the happy and peaceful life of these who will come after us. However, this would not be practically possible, if we did not safeguard already today man's supreme right — the right to live in peace, without the threat of war. We firmly believe that what the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the other socialist states have done since the Helsinki Conference in implementing the Final Act constitutes a noble contribution to the assertion of this most fundamental human right.

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